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THE “ORIGINAL SOURCES” OF EUROPEAN HISTORY.

THE Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania is publishing a series of *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*. The issues of each year form a single volume, and constitute the “Series” of that year.

The purpose of the whole series is a good one, namely, to stimulate the interest of the student by a facile recourse to the materials which should form the basis of historical work. While the idea lying behind the series is undoubtedly good, its embodiment in the present work of the editors is not very felicitously planned. Indeed, the series seems to lack any well-defined plan. For instance, the first volume consists of six numbers, having no common relationship and no other bond of union than the title of “Vol. I.” No. 1 of this volume concerns itself with the “Early Reformation Period in England”; No. 2, with “Urban and the Crusaders”; No. 3, with “The Reaction after 1815”; No. 4, with “Letters of the Crusaders”; No. 5, with “The French Revolution, 1789–1791”; and No. 6, with “English Constitutional Documents.” The remaining volumes exhibit a similar diversity of epochs and themes. This miscellaneous character is partly due to the fact that the work of the editors was districited, at the outset, into widely different fields of labor; namely, English History, Modern History of Continental Europe, and Mediaeval History. The scope was subsequently broadened, three additional editors being added to the staff. But while this fact will explain in some measure the variety noticeable in the titles, it will not

account for the lack of consecutiveness, whether logical or chronological, of the titles in any one of the departments. What is true of the first volume is even more strikingly evident in the others.

In trying to estimate the content of this pedagogical product, we may find it convenient to measure its three linear elements of Length, Breadth, and Depth; but in doing so we feel keenly our limitations; for, as our dimensions are partly figurative and partly literal, we may not avail ourselves of the modern pedagogical device of a diagram.

THE CUBIC CONTENT.

The idea lying behind the series of "Reprints" is, as we have said, a good one. Certainly, there is nothing so apt to kindle the enthusiasm of students as to have fresh draughts from the original sources of history held up to their lips. The various issues are unquestionably interesting and stimulating, and will, we trust, be but preludes to more grandiose symphonies. Nevertheless, they are open to a criticism such as we are about to make in this paper—a criticism that is not meant to be cynical, but to be just.

First, they are deficient in *length*. All of the issues are too brief in treatment of themes so suggestive as the ones selected by the editors.

Many are deficient in *breadth*. The treatment is, in some cases, too narrow-minded. The editors who take up the middle ages for the purpose of presenting the various phases of their life and thought seem to lack that sympathetic attitude (of both mind and heart) with the ideas and ideals of the middle ages such as will alone assure a really just interpretation of the spirit of those ages. Still, here as elsewhere, there is great satisfaction to be derived from the fact that no one can truly study that wide epoch of history without becoming constantly more and more gentle in his judgments respecting it. For it is, after all, a vast cathedral whose dim recesses invite exploration, whose grand proportions compel attention, whose ceremonial is strangely impressive. At their first approach, the editors may consider the dimness to be but an utter darkness that suggests, while it conceals, untold horrors; may fancy in the massiveness of the structure a huge Juggernaut-car, whose weight has crushed millions to death; may see in the ceremonial only a hoary mummery that for too long a time supplanted the religion "pure and undefiled" of St. James. Our criticism may be able to show clearly that such an impression was in truth made upon the inquiring minds of the editors. We can only hope that their exploration will be continued—even though in the spirit in which it was begun: for it is impossible that they shall go

very far in that dimness without seeing things a little more clearly; that they shall gaze long on that grandeur without growing up to the measure of the ideals it sought to realize; that they shall become familiar with that ceremonial without being a little softened by it. Let them enter to scoff—who knows but that they may remain to pray?

Some of the issues are deficient in *depth*. The third purpose of this paper may seem an ungracious one—to show that the learning of the editors, however satisfying in certain lines of investigation, is hardly such as would equip them justly for the task of illustrating the spirit of the middle ages. Meanwhile, we assume that it is their misfortune rather than their fault that they so totally misapprehend the religious tenets of the peoples they have undertaken to study. This misapprehension, nevertheless, is responsible for many grave errors both of fact and of inference, as it will be part of our purpose to prove. Certainly, one of the editors, Mr. Dana C. Munro (whose name we might as well mention now, as we shall be compelled to mention it frequently hereafter in order to avoid tedious circumlocutions), seems very thoroughly to have misapprehended the Catholic doctrine and practice of the middle ages. In translating the Life of St. Columban, however, he has done a good work for his students, and deserves congratulation.

The middle ages were bad in many respects. And some centuries were worse than others. And some countries were worse than others. And some features were worse than others. Still, the middle ages were good in many respects, and in some countries and in some centuries were much better than in others. The Christianizing of the barbarians was a slow process. And side by side with many a heroic virtue walked many a horrid vice. Traditions of barbarism yielded, in some cases, but slowly and incompletely to the gospel of meekness, just as some of the traditions of barbarism—dueling, for instance, or the vendettas of the Kentuckians, or the lynch law of the South—have succeeded in defying Christianity and common sense even down to our own day. So, too, the quasi-mediævalism of our legal procedure, hampering and foolish at times, as eminent jurists have recently lamented; outrageously careless at times of the natural rights of witnesses; just as outrageously careful at times of the panoply surrounding the judge and the attorney, which secures them, under the ægis of the old fiction called “contempt of court,” from just reprisals on the part of the accused, the juror, the witness, the public:—this quasi-mediævalism in legal procedure is an apt illustration of the long life persistently enjoyed by certain anachronisms.

The student of the middle ages should be taught early to make such easy reflections as these. The Reprints from the Original Sources of European History should silently inculcate a similar lesson—the lesson, namely, of how to discern the good in men and in institutions as well as the evil. And it is in failing to do this that the present series of reprints offers the justest ground for severe criticism. The impression left on the mind of the reader is that the middle ages were

“the direful spring
Of woes unnumbered”

to the civilization of modern Europe—that all the evil in our institutions, and none of the good, can be tracked, as a wild beast into his lair, back to the dim forest-land of the middle ages. Is this a just treatment?

With which preface we take up for consideration, first, the dimension of

LENGTH.

This first dimension is to be accepted in the most literal sense, for every one of the numbers comprised in the series is very short. The shortest length is 16 pp.; the longest is 40 pp. (this length constituting a “double” number). Within brief limits such as these, are given Original Reprints, together with an Introduction and a varied editorial commentary, on such large themes as the “Early Reformation Period in England” (20 pp.); “The Fourth Crusade” (20 pp.); “Urban and the Crusaders” (16 pp.); “The Pre-Reformation Period” (double number, 34 pp.).

This fact leads us to wonder whether the series be intended to interest the boys in our secondary schools, or the grave seniors in our universities? We are not a little astonished to find, from the prefatory note introducing the series, that its “most considerable use has naturally been with college classes,” and that “one or more of the issues has been used in twenty-four of the principal universities and colleges, and four divinity schools.”

A similar idea was worked out in the series of “English History by Contemporary Writers,” edited by Mr. Powell, of Christ Church, Oxford, and published by the Putnams. To illustrate the vast difference in limits between the two series, let “The Fourth Crusade” (20 pp.) of the University editors be compared with “The Crusade of Richard I.,” published by the Putnams. This latter handles a clearly-defined theme within the generous limits of 395 pp. It quotes from twenty-five contemporary sources, describes these sources fully in an appendix, is replete with foot-notes, gives in an appendix some fifteen carefully-pre-

pared thematic notes, and is furnished in addition with seven genealogical tables, a chronological table, a map of Palestine, prepared especially for that issue, and ten pictorial illustrations. The series of which it is a single issue is unpretentious, being "planned not only for educational use but for the general reader, and especially for all those to whom the original contemporary authorities are for various reasons difficult of access."

The absence of pretentiousness is a singularly attractive feature of the pedagogy of England; its presence is a singularly and obtrusively repelling feature of the pedagogy of America. The editors of the "Reprints" we are now reviewing seem to take their task too seriously. They have loved too well the academic gravity of the professorial chair. Their pen is too often dipped in learned ink. The more ponderous a tome, the more gladly they shoulder it. The more forbidding a title, with the greater relish they spread it out for the reader's bewilderment.

Doubtless, the student for whom they burn the midnight oil must be vastly impressed with the learning displayed; but we fancy that the initiated may occasionally enjoy a dry smile as he finds here a title quoted, not in the scholar's traditional short-hand, but with a school-boy's fullness; there, a learned note conveying a piece of incorrect information; here, an editorial generalization founded on a few facts apparently just acquired; there, an ungrammatical sentence, an ambiguous punctuation, a misspelled word. And he will, perhaps,

" With one long sigh of infinite release
From pedantries past, present, or to come,"

close the pamphlet to welcome back the Alp-like calm of the great explorers in "*Original Sources*"—men like Baronius, D'Achery, Martene, Baluze, Mansi, the Bollandists, Janssen—explorers who are re-explored in our day with a dubious intelligence on the one hand, and on the other with a childish sense of ownership of the new "finds."

The large scope of the pamphlets and the meagre treatment given to the themes suggest, however, considerations more to our present purpose than those we have been thus far indulging. A principal aim of the instructor in history should be to place the student as much as possible in the very atmosphere of the period he is treating. The ray of truth is apt to suffer refraction when it leaves one medium and enters another. We cannot be fairly said to know a man—and still less to have a reasonable basis for estimating his actions—until, by familiarity with his pursuits, his

training, his environment, his ideas and ideals, his purposes and plans, we have begun to take his point of view at least speculatively. To understand a people we should live for a time in their midst. Maitland illustrates this contention in his "Dark Ages" by such an appropriate parable that we are tempted to quote him: "I cannot help wishing," he says, "that the reader who has formed his idea of the dark ages only from some modern popular writers—I do not mean those who have written professedly on the subject—could be at once fairly thrown back into the midst of them. I cannot help thinking that he would feel very much as I did the first time that I found myself in a foreign country. A thousand novelties attracted my attention; many were strange, and some displeasing; and there was more or less that seemed foreign in everything. For this I was prepared; but I was not prepared for another feeling which very soon, and quite unexpectedly, sprung up in my mind, 'How much is different, and, go where I may, forever changing! True; but how much is the same everywhere!' It was almost a surprise to me to find that the sun and moon went on much the same way as at home; that there were roads, and rivers, and fields, and woods, and towns, and cities, and streets, and houses filled with people who might, perhaps, talk some other language, and dress in some other fashion from mine, but who had evidently much the same notions as to the necessities of life, and the substantials of society; and, without losing all my pride, or patriotism, or prejudice, I got a new idea of the unity of nature. I felt that He had 'made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth'; it brought with it a kind of home-feeling, a sense that, wherever I wandered, I was but moving in the hollow of His hand among my own brethren."

Now, the present series of "Reprints" can hardly fail to give the student a sense of being in an ethnological museum, whose specimens he is called on to inspect closely and to analyze with care, rather than the "home-feeling" so touchingly described by Maitland. It seems to be the purpose of the editors to exclude the latter and to evoke the former sense in the breast of the reader. "The examples of historical material," they declare, "which it is proposed in this series to reproduce in an accessible form, must be treated as illustrations of historical method. They are all worthy of careful study, and may be examined and dissected somewhat as the botanist analyzes his flowers." (We propose, as the editors suggest, to treat some of these "Reprints" "as illustrations of historical method"—nay, we are determined to do so; we "will,

that's flat," as Hotspur remarks.) But a constant sense of being in school and learning how to pursue an historical method, or of being present at a clinic in order to see how to "do it" yourself —this is somewhat foreign to that sympathetic *rappoport* with the objects of his study which one should try to beget in his mind when he desires to estimate a strange people and a distant epoch. Is there not danger that while dissecting the flower we may forget, or fail utterly to catch, the beauty of its splendid color, or of its delicate form, or of its fleeting perfume?

Surely, the series is too fragmentary in its treatment of large subjects! Twenty duodecimo pages will scarce cover in any fashion whatever the "Fourth Crusade." Nor will the contention that "method" and not completeness is aimed at diminish the strength of an argument whose best force lies in the very object-lesson furnished by that "method" itself. The whole effort of any present-day training in historical methods should be in the direction of removing, rather than confirming, the caricatures of the past, which even some "eminent" historians have done a little to perpetuate; which the greatest, however, have done much to revise; and which the original researches of present-day critics have almost succeeded in obliterating, if they have not as yet succeeded in substituting the true portrait. That effort is producing "original reprints" in great abundance, but in a form wholly different from that under review. "The Crusade of Richard I.," to which we have already alluded, illustrates well the method. Its purpose is to place the student in the atmosphere of the olden days. It does this by furnishing a consecutive narrative of events described in the words of contemporary writers of different sympathies. The testimony is manifold, but the picture is one; and it is vivid and interesting. "But is it true?" one may ask. That will largely depend on the critical judgment exercised by the editor, and on his spirit of fairness; but assuming that he is fitted for his task, there is the highest reason to hope that the picture is more correct than that which centuries of systematic prejudice have handed down to us.

The present Series is therefore open to the objection not only of lack of co-ordination of subjects and extreme fragmentariness of treatment, but of the imminent peril of wholly misleading the student by giving him a snap glance at a few phases of the epoch he is studying. The view he will get in this way will, perhaps, be a vivid one; but it is very apt to be a wholly distorted one. It used to be a source of merriment to Americans to read the "Impressions of a Tour in the United States," written by the

sojourner of a month in our midst, and gravely put forth as our true portrait. The British bird of passage had a vast domain to traverse, and not infrequently travelled "as the crow flies." Or if the sojourner really "sojourned" a brief moment in our midst, doubtless his recollection of us was not more vivid than our recollection of him—and that was, as the author of the "Book of Wisdom" graphically puts it, "as the remembrance of a guest of one day that passeth by." Dickens, a shrewd and keen observer, whose whole previous training had fitted him for the task he undertook, painted our portrait in his "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit"; but at the time, somehow or other, we failed to see the humor of the situation. The humor we are indeed able to recognize now; but we are also able to recognize that the humor is that of caricature and parody. All of Europe, nevertheless, still trusts the tale.

What impression may we hope to receive in a journey post-haste through the vast domain of mediæval history? In vain shall we have "analyzed" a small bundle of "Original Reprints." In truth, the picture of a few houses will not give us a just estimate of a metropolis; a few character-sketches will, as likely as not, caricature a great people; a handful of legislative enactments will not present adequately the spirit of the laws—an essay by Montesquieu on the subject would be a useful addition. Nevertheless, while the world has been laughing ever since at the old philosopher who, wishing to sell his house, exhibited a brick from its walls as a sufficient description of the property—still, the world has been but doing the same thing in the writing of history. It has been perpetually generalizing from a few facts—just as the student will be apt to generalize from a few "Reprints."

However, while arguing thus concerning one of the dimensions of these pamphlets—that, namely, of *Length*—it is but fair to recognize the existence of a second dimension. The outline may not be artistic, but the area may be satisfactory withal, if the *Length* exceed but very slightly the

BREADTH.

This dimension must be accepted rather in a metaphorical than in a literal sense. In either sense, alas! it proves very disappointing in the series of *Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*. All of the issues are deficient in *Length*; many of them are, in addition, extremely narrow.

Let us illustrate. Who has not, in his reading, again and again come across references to "monkish legends," "monkish tales,"

“monkish chronicles?” Doubtless, story-telling consumed a great amount of time that could have been better spent in the scriptorium, or in the fields, or in the oratory. And the truth of history suffered somewhat from the imaginative flights of some members of the monastic fraternity. It is not our purpose to apologize for the story-tellers, in whatever sense that compound word may be taken; without prejudice to our present plea, it might even be granted—for it is quite irrelevant—that they almost succeeded in supplanting all fact by fable, all literature by legend. The student is to form an opinion for himself, by a recourse to original sources, of the character of these fables and legends, and he is accordingly supplied with Vol. II., No. 4, of the present Series. This issue is entitled “Monastic Tales of the XIIIth Century.” He turns to the Table of Contents and reads :

I. Tales of the Virgin.

1. Virgin saves matron and monk, who elope with treasures of monastery.
2. Virgin takes the place of nun, who has fled from the convent.
3. Woman is punished for despising a statue of the Virgin.
4. Horrible death of a blasphemer of the Virgin.
5. A robber is delivered from hanging, because of his prayers to the Virgin.
6. The devil thwarted by prayers to the Virgin.

The *menu* thus far promises well; we shall have a toothsome repast—so toothsome that our watering mouth forthwith orders on this first course, even before our eye has scanned the remaining courses, which in broad outline consist of Tales of the Devil, Tales of Relics, Tales of Confession, Tales of the Host.

The “Tales of the Virgin” are introduced as follows :

In the popular estimation the worship of the Virgin held the first place. She was the mother of mercy, the intercessor. God, the Father, and God, the Son, might be wroth against men, but could not withstand the pleadings of the holy Virgin. To her nothing was impossible.

The impetus given to the worship of the mother of God by Bernhard, of Clairvaux, had been increased by the preaching of his Cistercian followers and had spread to the whole Church. In the XIIIth century the people were taught the *Ave Maria* as well as the Lord’s prayer and the creed. Attendance at Church in her honor on Saturday evenings was prescribed by the Council of Toledo in 1229. The celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception was becoming common, although it was not recognized as necessary. In fact, the popular enthusiasm for the worship of the blessed Virgin far outstripped the careful theories of the schoolmen as to the exact amount of reverence due to her (the *hyperdulia* of Thomas Aquinas).

In the following tales we find her commanding the demons, rescuing those who have done her honor, and revenging herself on those who have neglected her. The last trait is especially instructive as to the attitude of popular religion in the XIIIth century. When heresies were so rife, and the Church was in such sore straits, even the mother of mercy was compelled to exact sternly the honor due to herself. The last example illustrates the belief in the efficacy of the same prayer many times repeated (by reason of which the rosary came into use). In other tales we find the Virgin powerless to punish the wicked, because they pray to her assiduously.

We have said that many of the issues lack *Breadth* as well as *Length*. Some of the monks were great story-tellers—but would the student see in the above the lines of a portrait or of a caricature? Are we gazing at a Velasquez or a Cruikshank? It is the art of a caricaturist to exaggerate enormously, not necessarily the prominent features of a face, but simply those features which, whether prominent or not, lend themselves to a humorous treatment. And as humor is a question of taste—and taste is a product of temperament, of training, of associations, of schools, of cliques, of habits—the caricaturist studies rather the faces of his customers than those of his victims who are sitting, wholly unconscious of the fact, to have their portrait drawn. Some customers are hugely amused by Roman noses—and the artist will accordingly devote his attention to exaggeration of the bridge. Others laugh immoderately at long ears—and the artist will accordingly place an ass's head on human shoulders. Our University artist has—perhaps correctly—estimated that his customers in the “Divinity Schools” which are subscribing for the series of “Reprints,” will appreciate the insinuation of Roman noses and asses' ears, so obviously discernible in his “Monastic Tales of the XIIIth Century.”

The pamphlet, therefore, lacks breadth—it is decidedly narrow. It achieves the finest irony of the pedagogical method which it illustrates. For the purpose of that method is to present the past with all the vivid realism of the present; the plan of that method is to select a broad topic and dispose of it in a few “Reprints”; the result of that method is to furnish readers with an “Illustrated Puck” magazine of history, brimful of unconscious humor. After reading these “Monastic Tales,” even a gray-haired man might be pardoned for a generalization very like Puck's, “What fools these monks be!” The student unable as yet to stroke the soft down—what must be his inference? And yet we are told in the preface to the series that “The sequence of past events, the form and spirit of institutions, the characters of men, the prevailing habits of thought, obtain their greatest reality when we study them in the very words used by the men to whom the past was the living present.” It is all most exquisite irony. The pamphlet was certainly never seriously intended for the student of history, but for the class of rhetoric, to which it should be relegated.

The pamphlet is not historic, but polemic. The editor is about as well qualified for his self-assumed task as Mr. Robert Ingersoll is for his Reprints from the Bible. Both deal in original sources, and both produce a parody, for both have shrewdly estimated their audience. And we venture to think that Ingersoll's

audience was never more entertained by his travesty of the literature of the Hebrews than is Mr. Munro's audience by *his* travesty of the literature of the monks. Certainly, these Christians who share the beliefs of the old monks must be like them—stupid, ignorant, lazy, fat, believers in childish fables, idolaters, Mariolatres; a curious people like the Athenians of old, of whom St. Luke records that they “employed themselves in nothing else but either in telling or hearing some new thing.” But if the students in the “Divinity Schools” are almost forced by this pamphlet to generalize thus, do not the students of Mr. Ingersoll generalize with quite as much justice, when they arrive at the conclusion that all Christians who trust in their Bible are equally besotted in mind, equally childish and minister-ridden? We could construct—and with less trouble than Mr. Munro experienced in compiling his “Monastic Tales”—quite a startling Table of Contents for a pamphlet of *Marvellous Tales from the Bible*. “What fools these Christians be!” But, leaving aside the Tale of Jonah and the Whale, the Tale of the Ten Plagues of Egypt, the Tale of How a Prophet Prayed for and Obtained Rain after a Drought of Three Years, and did Many Other Wonderful Things, and Finally Went to Heaven in a Chariot of Fire; leaving aside the Tales of the Miracles of Christ, Tales of the Miracles of the Apostles—tales, tales, tales without number; leaving aside all these appetizing morsels for the palate of the infidel, and confining ourselves to “the Virgin” of Mr. Munro, we shall construct out of that Bible in which—we assume—he trusts, a little Table of Contents for a pamphlet that might find a ready sale amongst unbelievers. It is almost as funny as his own Table.

BIBLICAL TALES OF THE VIRGIN.

1. The Virgin is visited by an Angel, who tells her that she is to become the Mother of God.
2. At the Virgin's Approach a Child Leaps in its Mother's Womb.
3. The Virgin is visited by Three Wise Men from the Far East.
4. The Virgin causes her Son to change Water into Wine.

To this refreshing series of Tales we could write an introductory note something like that of Mr. Munro :

In the popular estimation of the early Christians the Virgin held the first place. Their tales represent her as really the mother of the God they worshipped, and therefore using the commanding power of her position to exact obedience. Their tales, accordingly, abound in the marvels wrought by her, as the Table of Contents shows. The tales at times sink to the meanest levels—as witness No. 4, in which she is represented as using the almighty power of her son to remove the embarrassment of a kins-

man of hers, at whose marriage-orgies the wine is failing. Neither do they lack ludicrous features—as witness No. 2, in which we are astounded at finding a child still in the womb, leaping in token of recognition of the babe still in the Virgin's womb.

The impetus given to her cult by other marvellous tales, such as that she was taken up, body and soul, into heaven after her death, has lasted down to the present day. And Christians are still found who, in addition to a sufficiently ample Book of Wonders, believe her to have been a Prophetess. A tale we have omitted through lack of space, represents her as declaring that all generations of men should call her "blessed"; and, in order to verify the prophecy, Christians in every age have thus styled her, so insistently, indeed, that she is always called—if we except a small fragment of "protestors" against her cult, whose numbers, never large, are decreasing daily (not a few of the protesters ending logically by protesting against the cult of the Son, as well)—she is always called, as we were saying, not the "Virgin," but the "*Blessed Virgin.*"

It is instructive to notice that these tales belong to a period of Biblical composition when the very divinity of the Son was itself most hotly combated, and when such an interposition of the figure of the mother might naturally have been considered disastrous to the prerogatives of the Son.

Omnis comparatio claudicat. The parallel we have just drawn fails in the particular that, whereas the Tales of the Virgin found in the New Testament are of obligatory credence, those narrated by the monks—especially those quoted by Mr. Munro—are far from it. But our contention is rather strengthened by this fact. If Christianity may be made to appear ridiculous by presenting only one phase of its belief, and by presenting that phase with an elaborate commentary of false logic and misapprehension constituting an appeal to the prejudice of the reader: *a fortiori* can Monasticism be made ludicrous by a similar presentation of but one of its features—a feature presented in an exaggerated light, and with a preparatory appeal to all the latent prejudice of the reader.

Is this a sample of the historical method whose great result is to be, as heralded by the Prospectus of the series, to clothe with their greatest reality "the form and spirit of institutions, the characters of men, the prevailing habits of thought"? Do we gather any real idea of the monks or of Monasticism from this farrago of "Tales"? Was Monasticism a farce? and were the monks asses?

In one respect our parallel was singularly appropriate. Mr. Munro, in making asses out of the monks, does but follow the example of the Roman rabble who, in their *graffiti*, represented Christ Himself with an ass-head. Caricature is not history.

The trend of all modern critical study of the middle ages is in the line of a rehabilitation of the monks and of monasticism. The greatest of the historians are those who have done the most work in that process. The traditional rags of misapprehension, of prejudice, of ignorance, are being dragged from off the heroic

figure of Monasticism. Is it not then pitiful to go again to the historic ash-heap, easy of access as it is, and in the name of a new method of historical study, drag home to a great modern University an armful of the discarded rags, and dress up a lay figure with them, and parade it before the eyes of boys—*VENERABILIS juventus*, to which the teacher by his very vocation owes a special reverence—as an illustration of the clothes his forefathers wore (for Monasticism means, very nearly, the Christianity of the middle ages)? Are the youth of our colleges, not overly given nowadays to respect for parents, for teachers, for anything in the heavens above or on the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth, to be taught in such a formal way the duty of irreverent laughter at a great factor in the civilizing of the world? Are they to be given such an object-lesson in the art of throwing mud at an institution of which the Anglican minister and historian, Maitland, could write as follows: “It is quite impossible to touch the subject of Monasticism without rubbing off some of the dirt which has been heaped upon it. It is impossible to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe, without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the Monastic Orders; and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, monasteries were beyond all price in those days of misrule and turbulence as places where (it may be imperfectly, yet better than elsewhere) God was worshipped—as a quiet and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and the desolate widow—as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills, and barren downs, and marshy plains, and deal bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train—as repositories of the learning which then was, and well-springs of the learning which was to be—as nurseries of art and science, giving the stimulus, the means, and the reward to invention; and aggregating around them every head that could devise, and every hand that could execute—as the nucleus of the city which in after days of pride should crown its palaces and bulwarks with the towering cross of its cathedral.” This Maitland was not an ecstatic admirer of the art of the Church—of its architecture, its painting, its sculpture, its music, its poetry; not a dreamy and romantic soul; but a cool historian who wrote thus only after demolishing the reputation of a Robertson for accuracy. He was a critical student of mediæval history, a man who asserted nothing without a recourse to, and a demonstration from, the “Original Sources,” of which his great work on the “Dark Ages” is little more than a collection. He

confronts historians like Robertson, Milner, Jortin, Mosheim, D'Aubigné, not with argument, but with the "Original Sources" which they had garbled, mistranslated, copied at second-hand—a veritable *exposé* of their pretension and assumption of consulting original sources. His book on the "Dark Ages" was published over fifty years ago, when the modern vogue of critical history had not assumed its present pre-eminence; and, having gone out of print, became a rarity. Its republication in our day should make it convenient as a reference-book to Mr. Munro and his students. We suggest this for the reason that, however well-known it is, we can still scarce conceive that Mr. Munro has indeed read it, although, by virtue of its title, it lies in his pathway so obtrusively that he must have stumbled over it. Had he read it he would have learned a sympathy with his subject such as would not have tolerated the travesty he has made. *À propos*, we cannot forbear to continue the quotation at the point where it was interrupted. Maitland's summary view of Monasticism presented a grand picture which, he says, "I think no man can deny. I believe it is true, and I love to think of it. I hope that I see the good hand of God in it, and the visible trace of His mercy that is over all His works. But if it is only a dream, however grateful, I shall be glad to be awakened from it; not indeed by the yelling of illiterate agitators, but by a quiet and sober proof that I have misunderstood the matter. In the meantime, let me thankfully believe that thousands of the persons at whom Robertson and Jortin, and other such very miserable second-hand writers have sneered, were men of enlarged minds, purified affections, and holy lives—that they were justly reverenced by men—and, above all, favorably accepted by God, and distinguished by the highest honor which He vouchsafes to those whom He has called into existence, that of being the channels of His love and mercy to their fellow-creatures."

What an idea Mr. Munro gives us of the monk of the thirteenth century! We should conceive of him as in his dotage. What is the fact? The Rev. Mr. Duffield, a Presbyterian who could style St. Venantius Fortunatus a "troubadour," is nevertheless amazed in contemplation of this very thirteenth century. Writing of the *Dies Iræ*, he says: "All Christendom rejoices in it as a common treasure, the gift of God through a devout Italian monk of the thirteenth century. It was in an age full of vitality that this 'hymn of the giants' was written—the most interesting century in the history of Christendom, Matthew Arnold says. In all directions we encounter the play or collision of great forces. . . . Popes like Innocent III. and Gregory IX., founders of religious

orders like Dominic and Francis, theologians like Aquinas and Bonaventura, may excite our admiration or our censure, but they are men of such magnitude as are not to be found in other centuries in the same number. They were live men, and they have made a lasting impression upon the world by the force of their vitality." Rather than present a long catalogue of names and achievements of the monks of this century, we have preferred to quote the century as looked at by a professed antagonist of Catholicity. Were the monks of the thirteenth century a pack of dotards?

"But," it may be objected, "the fact remains that the 'Monastic Tales' are taken from this century." Granted; but the picture thus drawn is a "shadowgraph" (with the accent strongly on the *shadow*). We cannot see in it flesh, or bone, or nerve, or sinew, warm heart, or active brain—but the shadow of all these, vague and forbidding. We should not like to grasp hands that resembled at all such shadowgraphs; we should not like to commune with hearts whose beating we infer only by an alternate softening and deepening of shadow.

Mr. Munro is a collector of pictures that will fit only the narrowest frames. His limits of space perhaps allowed him no room for even a slight perspective. He has not varied in the subject—and this makes his collection rather monotonous; we grow fatigued looking at a succession of pictures, all of the same size, all on the same theme, all lacking perspective, all of the same school, all of them amateurish. Surely the thirteenth century could have furnished more variety in art! Duffield, whom we quoted on that century, hints at an amazing variety of artists—live artists, grand artists, artists formed in an heroic mould. Mr. Munro's *salon* suggests that he is a collector of *genre*-paintings the apparent purpose of which is to insinuate that the artists were idiots. From his point of view, as well as from the point of view of his visitors, doubtless they were idiots. If the collection were intended only to amuse himself and a little coterie of his artist-friends, we might not admire his taste, but we should at least concede his liberty in the matter. But Mr. Munro has assumed the rôle of Lecturer on Art; and his visitors are his pupils—boys that know nothing about the subject of art, and must gather their judgments from his collection of paintings. What must we think of his pedagogy? He styles his collection "Monastic Art of the XIIth Century"—and omits *all* the better artists, *all* the best artists; does not even hint at them or their works by name, or spirit of *technique*, or achieved and undying reputation. It is as

though some lecturer on art of the next century were to ransack the garrets of the art-schools of America in this century, to find the long-forgotten attempts of the pupils to master *Impressionism*; and having acquired enough of these Impressionist pictures, should group them in a little room under the categories of Landscapes and Marines; and should then place over the door of the room the legend, "American Art in the XIXth Century." His pupils would no doubt be amused highly by his lecture—but would they receive a just "impression" of the subject? He has succeeded in making his pupils laugh, but at the expense of truth. And he will plead in vain that he really found these Impressionist-paintings in the art-schools of the previous century, authenticated by dates still legible on the canvases. He should have found other examples of art in the nineteenth century—he could easily have found enough to fill the Louvre as an exhibition-hall—and he should, as a lecturer to young students, have guarded them against hasty generalization in ridicule of the art of their fore-fathers.

We are now discussing what we have called the Dimension of *Breadth*, as found in some of the pamphlets. No secular university should permit a sectarian belligerent to use its neutral ground as a base of attack on the enemy. Nor should a few officers of the great University of Pennsylvania be permitted to drag its ægis, in this tolerant and scholarly age, over a polemic disguised by so very thin a veneer of "History." Mr. Munro's introductory note to the "Tales of the Virgin" reads like a Puritan sermon of the rare old times. In his introduction to the "Tales of Confession," too, he has boiled down into a paragraph and a sentence the elaborate historical inquiry which Mr. Lea found a difficulty in compressing within the limits of three generous volumes, and even Mr. Lea gave short "shrift" to some phases of the inquiry. He differs from Mr. Lea, however, in that he gives "original sources" on only one side of the question; and he differs again from Mr. Lea in the fact that Mr. Lea's logic is not on a par with his learning, whereas, we conceive, Mr. Munro's logic is not distanced by his learning *in re* "Confession." Here is the introduction to the "Tales of Confession":

"The theories as to the necessity and efficacy of confession varied greatly. But the tendency to hold all Christians to a full confession of all sins increased, as the members of the Church realized what a powerful weapon such confession would place in their hands. At the fourth Lateran Council the confession of all sins to a priest was made obligatory once a year. Soon after this the formula of absolution changed from the deprecatory form to the statement that the contrite penitent was loosed from the sins which he had confessed. By confession, sins, otherwise mortal, were reduced to

the rank of venial. The two essentials were contrition and confession. If the first was present, confession to a layman was sufficient in case no priest could be found; and, as we learn from Cesar of Heisterbach, in cases when immediate confession was impossible, contrition alone was sufficient to loose from the consequences of sin. But confession must follow at the earliest possible moment.

“The following tales show the efficacy of confession—even to a layman; the fact that all sins, even the most trivial, must be confessed; and the danger of backsliding after confession.”

Our limits of space and time forbid a longer discussion, under the dimension of *Breadth*, of “Monastic Tales of the XIIIth Century.” We shall encounter it again under the dimension of “Depth.”

Turn we now to another issue of the Series, Vol. I., No. 2. Its title is “Urban and the Crusaders,” and Mr. Munro is its editor. The theme is disposed of in 13 pages, exclusive of Introduction and Bibliography. In illustration of its *Breadth*, we quote from the Introduction :

“The privileges (granted to the Crusaders) were of gradual growth. Urban promised remission of sins. His successors found it necessary to add material inducements to the spiritual. As the zeal for the Crusades flagged, the privileges increased. Finally, when Innocent IV. preached a crusade against a Christian king, Conrad IV., he ‘granted a larger remission of sins than for the voyage to the Holy Land, and included the father and mother of the Crusaders as beneficiaries in the assurance of heaven.’ ”

An ordinary reader might be pardoned for supposing that when “Urban promised remission of sins,” he did so by granting an absolution antecedently to the commission of the sins thus remitted, and as a *quid pro quo*—as the “bounty” offered to those who would enlist; that contrition and confession were no longer necessary to the Crusaders; that he gave them *carte blanche* to commit sin, and provided them with a “through-ticket” to heaven. Catholics are accustomed to make a few easy distinctions, clearly intelligible to their minds and as a fact well understood by them, when the question of “absolution” is under discussion. They believe, for instance, that the priests (including the Pope, who is a priest) can absolve from sin, *provided that the subject of such absolution be properly disposed*. The sinner who is not sorry (and sorry from *supernatural* motives) for his sin, cannot be absolved. But even after absolution of the guilt there remains a *temporal* punishment for which “satisfaction” is to be made either in this life or in the next—and here come in the penitential codes, indulgences, etc., of the Church. Easy distinctions such as these are usually very tedious to the Protestant mind, which is further perplexed by questions of censures, suspensions, interdicts,

which sometimes a simple priest, sometimes only a bishop, sometimes only the Pope, may absolve from. In short, the Protestant "gives the thing up," and will not endure being instructed in the details of what Catholics do, and of what they do not, believe. Nevertheless, a professor of history may not, in his desire to condense, state or imply what is not true; may not, because he "gives the thing up" in despair of ever understanding it, appear to charge the largest body of Christians in the world with hideously stupid, un-Christian, immoral and damnable doctrines or beliefs; may not, above all, do this in his quality as an instructor of youth, to whom, in that very quality of teacher, he is under a special moral obligation of charity, justice, candor, truth. He is under a special obligation to see that his pupils do not misread his "original sources." If the expression "remission of sins" occurs in his documents, used in a certain technical sense, he should point out the fact clearly, lest the student confound technical with ordinary phraseology. Our editor quotes the Privilege granted by Pope Urban II.:

"If anyone, through devotion alone, and not for the sake of honor or gain, goes to Jerusalem to free the Church of God, the journey itself shall take the place of all penance."

This he calls in his Introduction a "remission of sins." He had better have called it, in the technical language of the next document he quotes, a "*full* remission of sins." And he should then and there have explained that the phrases "remission of sins" and "*full* remission of sins" have a technical meaning in the language of the Church wholly different from that which a non-Catholic would be apt to ascribe to them. They really mean the same as "partial indulgence" and "plenary indulgence." If the student is to understand correctly the exact "privileges" granted to the Crusaders, he should next be instructed in the fact that an "indulgence" is not a remission of either the guilt or the eternal punishment of sin committed; nor is it a permission to commit any sin whatsoever, of any kind or degree. The guilt and the eternal punishment of sin are removable only by sincere and supernatural sorrow (which includes a firm purpose of amendment), together with confession of sin (if possible). But Catholics furthermore believe that even after the remission of guilt and eternal punishment a temporal punishment remains—the justice of God requires a further "satisfaction" either on earth or in purgatory. Nathan told David that his sin was forgiven, but that, nevertheless, the child should die—a sore stroke to the father's

yearning heart. "Satisfaction" is therefore an integral part of the sacrament of Penance. The temporal punishment due to sin contritely confessed and forgiven is wholly or partly satisfied for by the rigors of the old penitential codes, or by the milder "penances" inflicted by the confessor, taken in conjunction with the grant of an "indulgence" for some pious work performed. An indulgence, therefore, always implies the antecedent performance of some act of self-denial or piety, and is, practically, a "penance" still, but in a milder form. Without entering upon a demonstration of the reasonableness of the Catholic practice in this matter, we have merely desired to point out to the editor that the phrase "remission of sins" is a technical one—somewhat similar to that in the British Constitution which declares that "The King can do no wrong." Being a technical phrase, it should have been explained amply, lest the student misconceive utterly the "privileges" granted to the Crusaders.

When, therefore, Urban II. declared that the journey to Jerusalem should "take the place of all penance," he granted a plenary indulgence in the sense we have explained above. This is clear from the report of his sermon delivered at the Council of Clermont:¹ "Nos . . . immensas pro suis delictis poenitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera poenitentia decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam, et fructum æternæ mercedis se non dubitent habituros." He makes "true penitence"—or, in other words, *internal* and *supernatural* sorrow—a condition of the granting of the indulgence.

If the editor had really edited his documents, he must have seen all this. For the very next document² he quotes contains the grant of "that full remission of sins which our predecessor, Pope Urban, granted." The document ends with such a fulness of explication of the technical phrase "remission of sins," that the editor who prints it should have called the special attention of his readers to it after first digesting its purport himself. If not, what is an editor for? The document ends thus:

"Following the example of our predecessor, and through the authority of omnipotent God and of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles—which is vested in us by God—we grant absolution and remission of sins so that those who devoutly undertake and accomplish such a holy journey, or who die by the way, shall obtain absolution for all their sins which they confess with *humble* and *contrite* heart, and shall receive from the Remunerator of all the reward of eternal life."³

¹ *Mansi*; t. xx., col. 823.

² *Privileges of Eugene III.*, 1145.

³ Italics ours.

No one, therefore, could receive "remission of sins" without true contrition, and, if possible, oral confession. The simple statement made by the editor would imply that the popes granted "remission of sins" without reference to any other condition than that of crusading. The papal documents take great care to insist on the requisite conditions of contrition and confession. We have just seen how Eugene III. expressly requires contrition and confession in order that the "remission of sins" granted by him should be obtained.

Writing on the same subject, Gregory VIII. grants the same privilege, but safeguards its interpretation in the same way: "Eis autem, qui *corde contrito, et humiliato spiritu*, itineris hujus laborem assumpserint, et *in pœnitentia* peccatorum, et fide recta decesserint, plenam suorum criminum indulgentiam, et vitam pollicemur æternum. Sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de omnibus peccatis suis, de quibus *rectam confessionem* fecerint, *impositæ satisfactionis* relaxationem, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate et nostra, se noverint habituros."¹ We have italicized the pertinent phrases. Especial attention is, however, called to the *impositæ satisfactionis relaxatio*, which is in the nature of a commutation of whatever "penance" might be imposed, or what is called in technical language "satisfaction" (an integral part of the Sacrament of Penance). A commutation was therefore made of all degrees and kinds of penance into the *single* "penance" or "satisfaction" of the journey to Jerusalem. He plainly looked on such a journey as a penitential pilgrimage, for the last sentence of the Bull runs thus: "Nec eant in vestibus pretiosis, et cum canibus, sive avibus, aut aliis quæ ostentationi potius et lasciviæ, quam necessariis videantur usibus deservire, sed in modesto apparatu, et habitu, in quo pœnitentiam potius agere, quam inanem affectare gloriam videantur."²

So, too, Innocent III., in the Bull *Ad liberandum*:³ "Nos . . . omnibus qui laborem propriis personis subierint et expensis, plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus liberaliter fuerint *corde contriti et confessi*, veniam indulgemus. . . ." A translation of this part of the Bull is printed in Mr. Munro's pamphlet. He should have called attention to the words "full remission of the sins of which they have *truly repented* with *contrite* hearts, and which they have *confessed* with their *mouths*." We conclude with four additional illustrations:

¹ *Mag. Bull. Rom.*, t. i., ad an. 1187.

² *Mag. Bull. Rom.*, an. 1215.

³ *Ibid.*

The Bull (*Malitia*) of Innocent IV. to the Dominican Inquisitors: "Cum autem hujusmodi Crucis verbum per vos proponi contigerit, relaxandi omnibus *vere pœnitentibus et confessis*, qui ad audiendum verbum ipsum *devote* affuerint, quadraginta vel viginti dies de injunctis pœnitentiis, libera sit vobis et singulis vestrum de nostra concessione facultas." He grants to the preachers the faculty of absolving or remitting a part of the penance; in short, the power of declaring to *contrite* and *confessed* penitents who have *devoutly* assisted at the sermons, a remission of from *twenty to forty days of the penance imposed* for their sins. He declares this privilege to be the same as that granted to the crusaders who go to Jerusalem (Sec. 2). The "remission of sins" has dwindled very considerably from that monstrous image which the simple phrase as quoted by Mr. Munro evokes in our minds.

So, too, Alexander IV. in the Bull *Firmissime* grants to the Friars Minor, Inquisitors, "*vere pœnitentibus et confessis . . . plenam . . . veniam peccatorum*,"—that is, a "plenary indulgence"; to others who help in various ways, "*tres annos de injuncta sibi pœnitentia relaxamus*"—that is, a "partial" indulgence of three years; to those who may die while prosecuting the work, "*eis peccatorum omnium, de quibus corde contriti ac ore confessi fuerint, plenam veniam concedimus*"—that is, "a plenary indulgence at the hour of death" (as the present-day phrase has it).

So, too, Urban IV., in the Bull *Licet*, grants a *partial* and a *plenary* indulgence in the same terms (which had by that time become thoroughly crystallized into a set formula).

So, too, Nicholas IV. in the Bull *Illuminet*, grants to the crusaders "*plenam peccaminum suorum, de quibus veraciter fuerint corde contriti, et ore confessi veniam*." Further on we read: "*Porro si forte aliquos eorum . . . post arreptum iter hujusmodi, ex hac luce migrare contigerit, ipsos nihilominus plene percipere volumus Indulgentiam prælibatam*"—that is to say, he grants a "Plenary Indulgence." To what a ridiculously slight shadow of its former self has not the "remission of sins" dwindled? The "plenary" indulgence gained so easily in our days was a privilege gained hardly enough in the middle ages.

The pupils might be further instructed in the nature of that "commutation of penance" in vogue in the Church. They would find an easily intelligible analogue in the "commutation of punishments" contemplated by the civil legislators in their grants to the President and the Governors of States, of the pardoning power, or of the power to shorten a term of punishment for "good

behavior." The great physical fatigues necessarily endured by the crusaders might well stand in lieu of a pilgrimage to Compostella or to Jerusalem. Both included much hardship, and both could be inflicted as a "penance" for sin. All this, and much more, might be placed before the eyes of the callow youth of the colleges and divinity schools, lest their consulting of the "Reprints and Translations" result in a complete and ludicrously wrong-headed misinterpretation of the documents drawn from "Original Sources."

The student should also receive good example in the matter of crediting to a denominated source all quotations made. What means this paragraph of the Introduction?

"Finally . . . he 'granted a larger remission of sins than for the voyage to the Holy Land, and included the father and mother of the Crusaders as beneficiaries in the assurance of heaven.'"

A quotation not credited to any one in particular, and still put in inverted commas, is apt to perplex even an ordinary, unscientific, uncritical, unmethodical reader. The student of historical methods, who learns from this pamphlet how to consult original sources, should learn as a first thing how to estimate their value, and then how properly to acknowledge indebtedness to them. Who makes the statement which Mr. Munro puts thus in inverted commas? Does Mr. Munro assert this of his own knowledge? by his own industrious delving into original documents? or does he depend on the critical work of the author whom—or rather from whom—he quotes? As he gives no documents to illustrate the statement, he might at least give the name of the author of the statement and the name of his book (in which, haply, some such illustrative document might be given or referred to).

À propos of quotations, we find the Angelic Doctor mildly reproved for carelessness in quotation. In Vol. III., No. 6, which treats of "The Pre-Reformation Period" (edited by J. H. Robinson, Ph.D.), occurs a long extract from the Angelic Doctor's discussion as to "Whether heretics are to be tolerated." Following his usual style, the Angelic Doctor begins with the argument *pro*, which includes three proofs from the New Testament, the first proof being the words of St. Paul to Timothy.¹ These words are, as a matter of fact, as follows: "Servum autem Domini non oportet litigare, sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem,² Cum modestia corripientem eos, qui resistunt veritati, nequando Deus det illis pœnitentiam ad cognoscendum veritatem,³

¹ II. Tim. ii., 24–26.

² V. 24.

³ V. 25.

Et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur ad ipsius voluntatem.”¹ St. Thomas, however, desiring to compress the gist of the three verses into an argument *pro*, omits whatever does not make for the argument, and rearranges the first verse so as to avoid the use of the word “non.” He thus succeeds—not through negligence, but by an “economy” of space and purport that should command the respect of the modern pedagogue—in presenting the argument in a clear, consecutive phraseology such as young students require for easy comprehension. This is his pungent presentation of the argument taken from the words of the Apostle : “Servum Dei oportet mansuetum esse, cum modestia corripientem eos qui resistunt veritati ; ne quando det illis poenitentiam Deus ad cognoscendum veritatem, et resipiscant a laqueis diaboli.” In a foot-note our editor remarks : “Quotations are often very carelessly made (*sc.*, by the Angelic Doctor), as in the opening one from second Timothy.” We can scarce imagine how, in a pedagogical sense, the quotation could have been made with greater care. But even if the quotation had been made with the utmost carelessness, the remark of the editor would be very amusing in view of the number of quotations from the Bible made by the Angel of the Schools in his “Summa Theologica.” Has the editor glanced over the *Index of Biblical Authorities* accompanying the “Summa?” Printed very closely and finely, it would fill several issues of the “Reprints.” In the whole Bible there are but five books from which he does not quote—Abdias (one chapter), Habacuc (3 cc.), Sophonias (3 cc.), Aggeus (2 cc.), Philemon (1 c.) ; and all of them added together are not equal in length to the short book of *Tobias*. From the first chapter of *Genesis* he makes some thirty-one quotations, and explicates them in various places of his *Summa* in the aggregate over eighty times. We glance at the references in the *Index* to the second chapter of *Genesis*, and we find a similar fertility. Of the fifty chapters in *Genesis*, he omits but nine. We glance at *Exodus*, and find not a single chapter omitted of all the forty. Of the twenty-seven chapters of *Leviticus*, only one is omitted. Instead of a foot-note calling attention to the “carelessness” of St. Thomas, it would have enlightened the student if attention had been called to the marvellous familiarity with the whole Bible, displayed in the midst of the middle ages, at a time three centuries in advance of the wonderful “discovery of the precious book” by Luther, of which d’Aubigné and other Protestant historians speak in holy amaze-

¹ V. 26.

ment. As this travesty of history is cropping up again and again in our days—even in these days of a critical recourse to original sources—it would be more profitable for the editors of the “Reprints” to issue one number correcting certain popular fallacies sure to be in the minds of the college students—more profitable in the cause of truth than a bushel of the pamphlets actually issuing from their press.

This thought leads to a slight digression, but a suggestive one, withal, and not wholly inappropriate. In his “Manual of Historical Literature,” Mr. C. K. Adams, of Cornell University, says of D’Aubigné’s “History of the Great Reformation,” that “it is probably more used by Protestant readers than all other histories of the Reformation combined.” Now, we have just seen some of the Biblical lore of St. Thomas, of whose “Summa Theologica” there is, we take it, not a *Quæstio* that does not bristle with quotations from the Bible. D’Aubigné informs his readers that Luther as a young man had “for some time applied himself to learn the philosophy of the middle ages in the writings of Occam, Scot, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas”; and, says Maitland, who furnishes us with the quotations we purpose using, this remark is found on the same page that records Luther’s “Discovery of the Bible.” This page came under Maitland’s eye quite accidentally, and he seemed to take not a little satisfaction in his ignorance of a “book which,” he says, “I do not know that I have seen, but the name of which I have often heard, and which I have reason to believe has been somewhat popular of late. The head-line of the page before me is

THE UNIVERSITY.

DISCOVERY.

D’AUBIGNÉ’S REFORMATION.

LUTHER’S PIETY.

THE BIBLE.

Among the contents of the page thus headed, and in the column under ‘Discovery. The Bible,’ we find the following passage relating to Luther :

“‘The young student passed at the University library every moment he could snatch from his academic duties. Books were still rare, and it was a high privilege in his eyes to be enabled to profit by the treasures collected in that vast collection. One day (he had then been studying two years at Erfurth, and was twenty years of age) he opened one after another several books in the library, in order to become acquainted with their authors. A volume he opens in its turn arrests his attention. He has seen nothing like it to this moment. He reads the title—it is a Bible! a rare book, unknown in those days.’” [Here Maitland has a foot-note calling attention to a foot-note on the page of D’Aubigné he is quoting, which purports to give the authority for the astounding statement just made by D’Aubigné. The foot-note to which Maitland calls atten-

tion simply says that Luther once came across a Latin Bible! It reads: "Auf ein Zeyt, wie er die Bücher fein nach einander besieht . . . kommt er über die lateinische Biblia . . . (Mathes. 3)." "Neither more nor less than" this is the foot-note "which," says Maitland, "the English reader (and for such, I presume, the translation is made) will, of course, suppose to be a voucher for the fact that the Bible was unknown in those days."] The page of D'Aubigné continues: "His interest is excited to a high degree; he is overcome with wonder at finding more in the volume than those fragments of the Gospels and Epistles, which the Church had selected to be read in the temples every Sunday throughout the year. Till then, he had supposed these constituted the entire Word of God; and now behold, how may pages, how many chapters, how many books, of which he had not before had a notion."

"Is it not odd that Luther had not by some chance or other heard of the Psalms? But there is no use in criticising such nonsense. Such it must appear to every moderately informed reader, but he will not appreciate its absurdity until he is informed that on the same page this precious historian has informed his readers that in the course of the two preceding years Luther had 'applied himself to learn the philosophy of the middle ages in the writings of Occam, Scot, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas'—and of course none of those poor creatures knew anything about the Bible." Thus Maitland, whom we should have hesitated to quote from *in extenso*, were we not convinced that despite the fact that he is now a classic on the dark ages, and the stronger fact that he lies so obtrusively across the path of any writer who treats of the middle ages, he nevertheless seems unfamiliar to our editors.

The digression has led up to the following suggestion: That the editors issue some Numbers whose tendency will not be to mislead the already prejudiced students of the "Reprints"; will not confirm the errors of readers of D'Aubigné, whose classic "is probably more used by Protestant readers than all other histories of the Reformation combined," as Mr. Adams tells us; but will *ex professo* strive to remove the wide-spread ignorance and misapprehension of the reading public with respect to the middle ages. This would prove a wide field for the learned activities of the editors. The public still read D'Aubigné, and his fables are to them as Gospel truth. They still read Robertson, whose ludicrously false statements were exposed in detail by Maitland, but whose work on the middle ages Mr. Adams—who clearly could not have opened Maitland once, save to copy out the title-page—has the assurance to recommend to the confiding searcher after historical truth in this wise: "This was, perhaps, the first really philosophical view of the middle ages ever written. In calmness of judgment, in breadth of scholarship, and in comprehensiveness of treatment it still has no superior among the shorter treatises on the middle ages. . . . The 'proofs and illustrations' form nearly a

half of the whole volume, and are not the least important and interesting portion of the work. They abound in facts of the utmost interest and importance. . . ." Perhaps the public still read Milner—the brother and the dean—whose work is even yet esteemed a standard one, and whose treatment of the discovery of the Bible is as delightful as D'Aubigné's. Maitland says he was curious to find out how Milner treated this episode in Luther's life. This is what he found, capitals and all: "In the second year after Luther had entered into the monastery, he accidentally met with a Latin Bible in the library. It proved to him a treasure. Then he first discovered that there were MORE scripture-passages extant than those which were read to the people: for the scriptures were at that time very little known in the world." Maitland was an Anglican divine of a mild and even temper, but this seems to have staggered him. "Really," he says, "one hardly knows how to meet such statements, but will the reader be so good as to remember that we are not now talking of the dark ages, but of a period when the *press* had been *half a century* in operation; and will he give a moment's reflection to the following statement, which I believe to be correct, and which cannot, I think, be so far inaccurate as to affect the argument. To say nothing of *parts* of the Bible, or of books whose *place* is uncertain, we know of at least *twenty* different *editions* of the *whole* Latin Bible *printed in Germany only* before Luther was *born*. These had issued from Augsburg, Strasburg, Cologne, Ulm, Mentz (two), Basil (four), Nuremberg (ten), and were dispersed through Germany, I repeat, before Luther was born. . . . It had been printed in Rome, . . . at Naples, Florence, and Piacenza; and Venice alone had furnished eleven editions. No doubt we should be within the truth if we were to say that beside the multitude of manuscript copies, not yet fallen into disuse, the *press* had issued fifty different editions of the *whole* Latin Bible; to say nothing of Psalters, New Testaments, or other parts. And yet, more than twenty years after, we find a young man who had received 'a very liberal education,' who 'had made great proficiency in his studies at Magdeburg, Eisenach, and Erfurth,' and who, nevertheless, did not know what a Bible was, simply because 'the Bible was unknown in those days.'" These last shafts are pointed with the words not of Milner, but of D'Aubigné, of course, but they reach vulnerable places in the armor of both.

"Do the duty lying nearest you" is a piece of advice credited to the genius of Goethe. Why lead students into the misty mysticism of "Cæsar" of Heisterbach; into the scholastic labyrinth

of the “Summa”; into the legal pitfalls of “Ordeals, Compurgation, Excommunication, and Interdict;” into the diplomatic tangles of the “Period of the Later Reformation”; into this bog and that mireland, into this mist-land and that morass—when all the while the hapless pilgrim, whom you are guiding thither, is bearing on his shoulders an inestimably heavy burden of *impedimenta*—verily, impediments to anything like a reasonable interpretation of anything he shall see or hear in those wonderful fairy-lands of the middle ages? Why, O why? Say rather, why not first of all seek to relieve him of a part, at least, of the weight of ignorance, misinformation, traditional misapprehension, religious prejudice, under which he is bearing up with a fortitude and a constancy that must appeal to any pedagogue’s sympathy?

All this digression has been made *à propos* of the reproof administered to the Angelic Doctor because of his carelessness in quoting the Bible. We showed that, in re-arranging the text, he was consulting for the needs of his pupils—that he was not careless, but concise. This fact will shine out more clearly if we look at another arrangement of the self-same text by the same great master in the same great “Summa.” He is now discussing, not the question of heresy, but that of “modesty,”¹ and the text accordingly appears condensed as follows: “Servum Dei non oportet litigare, sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, cum modestia corripientem eos qui resistant veritati.” He here inserts the words “non oportet litigare,” which he had previously omitted as not bearing on the question of the toleration of heresy; and he omits the closing phrases he had previously quoted as bearing on that question. This man seems to have known all his Bible by heart, and *litteratim*, too!

The stricture of the editor was doubly unfortunate. First, it would easily lead a boy raised up in the atmosphere of a Protestant tradition that considers the middle ages as hideously ignorant of the Bible, to look on St. Thomas as but one out of innumerable illustrations of this ignorance. The boy’s error is confirmed instead of lessened by the editor’s foot-note, and the “Reprints” have succeeded in strengthening his false view of the learning of the middle ages, while their professed intention is to give him a juster, because a closer, view. It is unfortunate, in the second place, as an illustration of the qualifications of the editor himself. In trying to guide others he discovers to the world that he but needs a guide himself; for he drags his

¹ 2, 2, q. 160, a. 1, 3.

pupil with him into the same pitfall. "If the blind lead the blind, . . ."

Once more the suggestion may be made, not inappropriately, to the editors of the "Reprints," that some of the issues be mere reprints of the mediæval illustrations given by Maitland. His book must be quite as unfamiliar and inaccessible to the pupils as it evidently is to the editors. As we are not just now engaged in issuing a series of reprints, we may not give the illustrations which he gives in abundance, of the wonderful familiarity of the dark ages with the Bible—wonderful when we consider that a single Bible cost as much in the olden time as five hundred would cost to-day; wonderful when we consider that students of the "Book" had not then the paraphernalia of helps to Bible-study possessed by students of to-day; wonderful when we consider that scriptural phraseology formed then the warp and woof not alone of the sermons preached, the lectures delivered, the bulls published, but even of the every-day conversation of life. The thoughts of those days were conceived and expressed in the diction of the two testaments, as in the readiest medium at hand. Let the editors be assured that their pupils are sitting in a worse than Egyptian darkness with respect to all these truths. It is not the fault of the pupils, to be sure; it is a misfortune of theirs, attributable to a three-centuried perpetuation of partisan abuse of the middle ages. But that misfortune carries with it a lesson not to be fairly ignored by an editor who discourses to them concerning those ages. If he is to let them see clearly, he must first take away the smoked glasses through which they are unconsciously looking. The case might be put in even a stronger figure: if he is to let them see at all, he must first remove the bandage from their eyes.

We trust we have left behind us what St. Paul calls "the things of a child," and with them the childish pleasure found in throwing stones. If, then, a person living in a glass house amuses himself by casting stones at us, and we stoop to pick up one which has fallen harmlessly at our feet, for the purpose of throwing it back again, we trust we shall not be misapprehended as though we did so for the pleasure of the exercise; we do so merely to show said person a fact he seems to be strangely ignorant of—namely, that he lives secure, but not safe, in a very frail habitation. Our editor has amused himself by casting a stone at St. Thomas; and the stone is heavy, not through the force of gravitation, but through that of "quotation." Meanwhile, curiously enough, the editor himself does not credit, with a scholar's accuracy, his extract from the Angelic Doctor. This is the way he refers

to his authority: “Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Theologica, Quæst. XI., Art. III., Latin.” The word “Latin” is added, plainly, for the information of the student, not of any professor who may chance to use the pamphlet. The fact, too, that the reference is given in full, and not in the scholar’s short-hand, shows clearly that the reference is meant to aid the student, if he desires to consult the original work, whether to verify the whole extract, or to obtain fuller information on the matter in hand. But unless the student has a rare piece of good luck, he will fail to find the original by such an inaccurate reference. If he find it, he may thank good luck and not good guidance. For the “Summa Theologica” is not a small work. Exclusive of indexes, it would fill about seven thousand such pages as those of the “Reprints,” and would suffice for 200 such numbers of the present series as the one we are now reviewing.¹ The reference given by our editor would apply to five different *Quæstiones* discussed, as widely separate in space in the *Summa* as they are in purport. Any one at all familiar with the “Summa” knows that it is divided into Pars Prima, Pars Secunda (which is subdivided into Pars Prima and Pars Secunda), Pars Tertia, and a Supplementum to Pars Tertia. The reference of the editor would apply equally to all these divisions, for he fails to specify; and the student would, therefore, find a Quæst. XI., Art. III., in the Pars Prima, treating the question *Utrum Deus sit unus*; in Prima Secundæ, *Utrum fruitio sit tantum ultimi finis*; in Secunda Secundæ, *Utrum hæretici sint tolrandi*; in Pars Tertia, *Utrum hæc scientia* (sc., Christi), *fuerit collativa*; and in the Supplementum, *Utrum solus sacerdos habeat sigillum confessionis*.

About this point, we can fancy our readers getting about as impatient with us as the critical editor whom we are criticizing. “Of course,” we can hear them saying, “everybody knows all this.” It is very clear, nevertheless, that our editor was quite oblivious of these details of accuracy. As to the short-hand in which St. Thomas is always referred to by those who quote from him, it is also very clear that our editor could not regard it in any other light than as a Chinese puzzle. We are merely trying to illustrate the parable of the “glass house”—an illustration deriving most of its force from the very brittle material of the vessel bombarding a Gibraltar that bristles with heavy ordnance and is honey-combed with galleries known only to its defenders.

The series lacks *Breadth*. Amongst all the Original Sources

¹ The Pre-Reformation Period, 34 pp.

at which the editors have sought to slake their thirst after historical truth, is there not one that furnishes limpid water? After all their fatiguing pilgrimages thither, can they not return with other than polluted waters to offer to their thirsty pupils? Did nothing good come out of Galilee? Could they not find the footprints of some saintly men and women? Could they not see the evidences—although in ruins, perchance—of some stately edifices? Is all their fetching and carrying to result in poisoning the taste and the blood of their young recruits?

We grow aweary with perpetual evil; we faint for soul-food; we have groped too long in darkness; show us a little good; break to us a morsel of the bread of life; show us a star in the blackness! Were the dark ages all evil? Were our forbears all either fools, or knaves; either ferocious or fearful; either cunning or idiotic? Had they no earnest faith, no true piety, no profound learning, no heroic charity? Had they no thought for the refining influences of civilization—had they no painting, no sculpture, no architecture, no poetry, no music?

Vol. III., No. 6, of the "Reprints" tells us something about the "Pre-Reformation Period." The first subject it treats of is "Early Consciousness of the Abuses of the Church"; and under this heading we have a long extract from a ribald poem attributed to Walter Mapes, in which the Pope is a devouring lion who

" . . . laieth his booke to pledge and thirsteth astir gold";

the Bishop is a "Cauffe" that

" . . . dothe runniē before in pasture feild, and fenne,
And gnawes and chewes on that where he list best to be,
And thus he filleth himselfe with goodes of other men";

the Archdeacon

" . . . is likewise the egell that dothe flie,
A robber righty cald, and sees a-farre his prae," etc.;

the "Deane," like Pickwick in Sergeant Buzfuz's eyes, is "a being erect upon two legs, and bearing all the semblance of a man," and yet is not a man, but a monster;

" Withe fraude, desceipt, and guile fraught full as he may be,
And yet dothe hide and cloke the same as best he can,
Under pretence and shewe of plaine simplicitie";

the priest receives an ampler description of sordid villany; the "Abbottes" come next in the procession of abuse—

"Of whom their flock to leade to hell not one dothe misse";

the procession closes with the "Moncke"—

"Wurste than a moncke there is no feende nor sprite in hell."

We have selected but a few lines out of this long and complete hierarchy of evil, this ample page of detailed villany, hypocrisy, robbery, lechery, and whatever other rhymic syllables may be found in the catalogue of sin. But we have been mindful of the modesty of nature, and have spared the reader some of the lewd indelicacy of the "poem." Henry Morley prints a long extract from it in his "Shorter English Poems," and is more delicate than our editor. *À propos*, what lecturer or writer on the subject of the evils in the Church but shows an evident liking for the filth he is handling? This liking is not confined to "converted monks" and "escaped nuns."

The editor introduces the poem with a few remarks: "The student of the Reformation often forgets that it was not left for Luther first to point out the abuses in the Church. The poem was written some three centuries before Luther's birth and enjoyed great popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," etc. Poor student of the Reformation—what a forgetful memory must be his! And have the labors of the pedagogues come to this? "The Vision of Piers Plowman" and "The Creed" of the same, edited with such care and so many sign-posts set up in the way to point out villanies that might otherwise escape unnoticed, and edited for young students, too—has it served no other end than as a warning to the student that his memory is defective? And has Chaucer sung in vain? and has Taine written his "English Literature" in vain? And the three-centuried "conspiracy against the truth" called History; and the modern literature of England and America, predominantly Protestant in all its ramifications; and the power of the pulpit, the rostrum, the school, the periodical press—has all this impugned Catholicity in vain? It is a poor spur—this lesson of the past—to prick the sides of the editor's intent. He might have accepted defeat graciously, and have dedicated his services to the critical crusade known as "History" by the finest students and scholars of the present era. That crusade is leading brave and venturesome and candid spirits back to the Holy Land of mediæval faith and heroism, to win it back from the barbarians who have so long thriven over its ruins.

But enough concerning the *Breadth* of the "Reprints." One dimension remains for consideration—that, namely, of

DEPTH.

It is difficult, in reading the "Reprints," to resist a growing sentiment against the qualifications of the editors for their self-imposed task. Their expressed purpose is to beget in the minds of their readers a realization of "the sequence of past events, the form and spirit of institutions, the characters of men, the prevailing habits of thought" of the broad tracts of history they seek to cover. The first "realization" likely to come to the *non-imberbis* portion of their readers is that of the editors' lack of realization of the "spirit of institutions," etc. They are courier-guides, and their pupils are tourists; and leaving the warmth and glare of the street, they are prepared to "do" some mighty minster of the olden time—some anachronism that still lasts to confound the modern architect with proportions whose correctness he divines but cannot prove; to confound the painter with canvases whose glowing life at once displays and hides the secret of a lost art; to confound the sculptor with a majesty at whose feet he sits and ponders; to overawe the poet with rainbows visibly crystallized in the broad shafts of light that glorify at once, and are glorified by

"The painted windows, freaking gloom with glow,
Dusking the sunshine which they seem to cheer";

to delight the antiquary and the historian with well-nigh illegible records in stone; to confound and to amaze and to delight all true artists and scholars and students and men of culture. The tourists and their guides have left the warmth and glare—the garish day of this nineteenth century—and are trooping merrily into the cathedral of the middle ages. They have left the warmth outside—and their first sensation being one of chilliness, they wrap themselves up more thoroughly in pleasant prejudices. They have left the glare outside—and they recognize in the unaccustomed "dim religious light" only the "darkness" of which they were forewarned. "How could the monks ever read their prayers in such a light?—why, we can't read even the title-page of the guide-book!" The guide explains that the monks didn't really pray—they only pretended to do so, in order the more thoroughly to hoodwink the superstitious people who wandered in to assist at the mummeries going forward. "And what queer statues—are they saints?" The guide explains that they are the robber-barons who built the minster and made it their graveyard. "And what is the meaning of all that stuff carved on the marble slabs?" The guide has prepared himself beforehand for such a question

by consulting a guide-book "inaccessible to most tourists"—a sort of "original source," as it were—and with a pitying shrug of the shoulders explains that it is a lot of "barbarous Latin" which the learned men of this day find some difficulty in translating, but whose general sense is so and so. Meanwhile, their eyes becoming a little more accustomed to the gloom, they discern here and there a figure kneeling, in some dim recess, as though actually in prayer. "What are those people doing?" they whisper in amazement. "They are Romanists," answers the guide simply. "Dear me! let us go out and get some lunch—what a queer church, and queer people, and what queer times they must have had!—and how awfully cold it was in there!—and *so dark!*"

Yes, it is all queer; and while it was essential to a completed "culture" that you should suffer the boredom of sight-seeing, you are mighty glad to have it all over. Your education is now finished—quite; and you are now thoroughly equipped to write, to lecture, to teach, with the added authority of "one who has been there and seen it for one's self."

We have found how vividly the religious life of the thirteenth century—that "heroic age" of monasticism—is portrayed in Vol. II., No. 4.¹ Mr. Munro showed us how queer—how very funny—it all was; and lest we should pass that pamphlet over through a careless neglect of its promising title, another editor (Vol. III., No. 6) commends it to our attention as follows: "Here the reader will find some specimens of a literature which tells us more of the religion of the people than can be derived from any other source." Sure enough, what a queer people they must have been.

But there are some queer things about Mr. Munro's work, too. First of all, his punctuation is queer. The first of his "Tales of the Virgin" is entitled: "Virgin saves matron and monk, who elope with treasures of monastery." If the art of punctuation was not devised, like the deceitful beacons of the "wreckers" of old, to lure the unsuspecting to destruction (of sense and sanity), this title means that the Virgin saves a monk and a matron who, having been saved thus, elope, etc. The reader of the tale finds that the comma has quite deluded him; for, as it now seems, the elopement took place first and the saving afterwards—the "Virgin" performing the part of a *deus ex machina*. Together with this utter disregard of the distinction to be made between a

¹ *Monastic Tales of the XIIIth Century.*

restrictive and an unrestrictive relative clause, the sentence revels in a misuse of the "historical present" such as its author, a professed historian, should have been at special pains to avoid. Another example is found in the first of the "Tales of the Devil," whose title runs thus: "Devil confesses that he entered a woman, because she was delivered to him by her husband." What is intended to be conveyed by the comma? As the sentence stands, it means, or ought to mean, that the Devil confesses because the woman was delivered to him by her husband. The writer desired to say, we surmise (for we have not read the tale), that the Devil did not confess because, etc., but that he entered the woman because, etc.

Satis superque of this kind of editing, or we should feel inclined to scrutinize at some length the farrago of editorial nonsense found in the "Monastic Tales of the XIIIth Century." We refer the reader back to a slight quotation made already *à propos* of the tales of the Virgin. *Quot sententiæ, tot errores*—and ludicrous ones, too. The learning is unquestionably profound which hides so thoroughly from the recognition of the reader the gigantic but lovely figure of S. Bernard under the masquerading name of "Bernhard." This is the pedantry of Freeman run mad. The students, too, being well versed in the technical phraseology of Scholasticism, will immediately perceive the meaning of the editor's reference (wholly unexplained) to "the *hyperdulia* of Thomas Aquinas." Students in our colleges and universities are, of course, "well up" in such things nowadays. They universally understand the "infallibility" of the Pope to mean that he cannot sin—and this, too, despite their equally profound knowledge of Latin. *Impeccable* and *infallible* are the same thing to them—and they are equally indifferent to both. In illustration of this fact, we venture to record here two anecdotes. It was at this very University of Pennsylvania that we once sat under a Rev. Professor of History, himself a broad-minded, scholarly, and devout man.

A propos of some historical question, he took occasion to enlighten the students as to the real meaning of "infallibility," and he explained the Catholic doctrine ably and clearly, taking special care to differentiate "infallibility" and "impeccability." We glanced around at the faces of the students, and, although some eighteen years have passed since that day, we recollect clearly our feeling of amazement at the total indifference to the whole explanation manifested by the impassive faces of the class. Nevertheless, it was at the same University that a young man who was preparing to enter a Protestant seminary to study for the

ministry remarked to a Catholic friend that, after all, the Catholics were not so unreasonable as a certain sect of Protestantism; for that whereas that particular sect claimed impeccability for all its members, the Catholics asserted that only one man—the Pope—could not sin!

“THE LIFE OF ST. COLUMBAN.”

Before concluding this review of the series it is a real pleasure to be able to change the note of censure for one of sincere praise. “The Life of St. Columban” (Vol. II., No. 7) is a double number of 36 pages. Short as the “Life” is, it nevertheless is a full translation of the classic work of the Abbot Jonas. It therefore is what it pretends to be—an ample “original source.” It does not err by the selection of a large theme and its compression into inadequate limits. The very selection itself is evidence of *Breadth*—an evidence singularly lacking in the issues we have been considering. And its *Depth* is not unsatisfactory; for the Introduction and the occasional editorial notes are happily conceived. Not failing, therefore, under the same criticism as the other issues, it has been given the distinction of a separate and discriminating title in this paper, and constitutes a class by itself. Mr. Munro is to be congratulated on his labors in this number. The translation is a piece of very attractive and thoroughly idiomatic English; so much so, indeed, that one would scarce fancy that he was reading a translation. St. Columban’s life is a romantic as well as an instructive and edifying Number. Let us have more of such happy journeyings to the Original Sources of European history.

May we, in this connection, venture on a word of suggestion to the editor? It is a pity that work otherwise so admirable, should suffer from blemishes of proof-reading. Educational literature should aim at the highest excellence in the matter of a correct typography, for the average student is quite unable to judge of such a matter for himself. He is too young to have had much experience in the ability of the printer to make nonsense of a passage, to misspell words, to drop or change a numeral whose significance a mere printer may be excused for not apprehending. The student’s mind—even though he be advanced to the dignity of a collegian—is still very much of a *tabula rasa*, ready to receive and, unfortunately, to retain, an erroneous as well as a correct spelling, date, statement. In the “Life” we have noticed three misprints, as well as some few slips of the pen. For instance, the word *Patrologiæ* occurs twice, and is twice misprinted *Patrilogiæ*.

Again, the printer has dropped a numeral from the foot-note on p. 36, so that "eleventh day before the Kalends of December" appears in the foot-note as "November 1st," instead of "November 21st." Again, in a foot-note on p. 5 occurs the expression "County of Ulster" instead of "Province of Ulster." These things are, indeed, trifles—but trifles make or mar perfection.

A few suggestions in the matter of the editorial comment of this issue, and our "censure of wisdom" shall have expressed itself—"and there an end." In the *Introduction* the editor says: "The language of Jonas is almost classical. But, unfortunately, he had little of the classical feeling for purity of style, and his writings are bombastic in the extreme." The classical feeling for purity of style, if Jonas had it not, he at least seems to have striven to attain. And the word "bombastic" seems hardly a discriminating adjective to apply to a style richly decked out in purple and gold, when one recalls the rolling periods in laudation of Archias and Milo or in denunciation of Catiline and Verres. Latin is not English, nor were the classical trappings of rhetoric at all similar to those of modern English. The Romance tongues still possess a verbal and phrasal luxuriance wholly indigenous, and not easily or very successfully transplantable into our colder clime and ruder soil. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that "it is difficult to put his Latin into English," or that the editor found himself "unable to determine the exact connection of some clauses with the context—if they have any." In such cases he "translated literally, hoping that others might see a connection which" he missed. We venture to suggest that it would have proved additionally serviceable in such cases if the editor had printed the whole passage in the original Latin, as a foot-note. The reader might have been able thus to gather some connection.

The first sentence of the translation reads: "St. Columban, who is also called Columba, was born on the island of Ireland"—which is correct enough. Still, there was room here for a foot-note that should safeguard the student from confounding two great saints, both of whom were born in Ireland and in the sixth century; both of whom left their native land and became wonderful missionaries; both of whom had most romantic histories, and both of whom have entered largely into history and literature. The student might easily confound the two—especially in view of the fact that the one "qui et dicitur Columba" is not thus known in our literature, while the one "qui dicitur Columba" without the "et" is widely known as both "Columba" and Colum-cille—but most widely as simple "Columba"!

On page 7 is another foot-note correcting what Mabillon and others consider a misstatement of Jonas, who says that Sigibert was king of both Austrasia and Burgundy. Jonas here (*perhaps!*) made a mistake, and the editor of the “Vita” in Migne points it out with fullness and candor, but shows how naturally Jonas fell into the error. Our editor despatches the matter (as it seems to us) too sententiously, as follows: “Wrong; Sigibert died 575, and was king only of Austrasia.” He might have stated the correction from Migne as gently as he found it made there, if not for the sake of the reputation of Jonas, at least for that sentiment of modesty in learning which young students so sadly lack, and in the cultivation of which they should ever find a strong object-lesson in the example of their teachers.

On page 5 is another note calling attention to a translation of a Biblical text found in the “Vita.” The text is: “Ignem veni mittere in terram, quem volo ut ardeat” (Luc. xii, 49). The editor has translated it: “I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?” The foot-note says: “I have followed the King James version for the translation. The Vulgate, which is quoted here, reads *quem volo ut ardeat*.” Of course, the Vulgate does not read *quem volo ut ardeat*, but *quid volo nisi ut accendatur*. There are several known variants of the text—the one approaching nearest to that of the “Vita,” as far as we have been able to learn, being *quam volo ut ardeat*, used more than once by S. Jerome. But all this is of less consequence, as it seems to us, than the frank avowal that the editor has disregarded his original entirely in rendering it into English. But, doubtless, if S. Columbanus had had the King James version he would have preferred it to whatever version he really had—or, perhaps, even to the Revised version of to-day, which differs here from the King James version. And elsewhere the editor makes an English rendering which varies greatly from the original Latin found in the “Vita”—and without noting the fact for the information of the reader. Was S. Columbanus an Anglican parson?

Neither does he transfer to his own pages the Biblical references found in Migne; so that the student is left in ignorance of the wide extent of those references, and therefore of the Biblical knowledge of S. Columbanus (or, it may be, of the abbot Jonas).

Another note which we desiderate in the translation. In the “Vita” we read: “Huic soboles nulla erat, ut Juvencus de Zacharia et Elizabeth ait:

‘Gratus ut donum jam desperantibus esset.’ ”

The editor renders thus: "He had no children; in order that, as Juvencus says of Zachariah and Elizabeth, 'the gift might be more welcome to those who had already given up hope.'" A foot-note would have helped the reader to the fact that a hexameter verse was being rendered. All these suggestions concern slight matters, it is true; but they nevertheless make for perfection in the laborious work of editing.

THE DIMENSIONS.

Our tape-line, literal and figurative, has done its work—and the result seems to require a revision of the *Dimensions*. The *Length* should have been styled *Brevity*; the *Breadth*, *Narrowness*; and the *Depth*, *Superficiality*. The editors have journeyed—a vacation-trip—to the Great Lakes of the "Original Sources of European History"; have dipped their tourist-cups into the silent depths; and have returned with these cupfuls as specimens of the scenery. If the water were more limpid, doubtless it would invite to deeper draughts. But who wishes to be poisoned with muddy water?

The length of the pamphlets would have been ample for much more restricted themes than the ones selected, and the palates of the students would not have been over-surfited with bulky "Reprints." "The Life of St. Columban" is an illustration of appropriate *Length*. It takes up one definite and self-restricted theme, and despatches it, therefore, in limits necessarily placed by that theme. Neither is it unsatisfactory in the other dimensions. It required some breadth of mind to select it; and its fine descriptive-ness of the age and the spirit of the age it illuminates, together with its unique authenticity and authority as an "original source" for the study of that age, is a testimony to the depth of insight required for such a task as its editor undertook to perform.

The series as it stands, therefore, will bring home to our minds the conviction that we are, as Lowell so searchingly puts it in "The Cathedral," children

"Of an age that lectures, not creates,
Plastering our swallow-nests on the awful past,
And twittering round the work of larger men,
As we had builded what we but deface."

H. T. HENRY.

THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICITY IN
GENEVA.

II.

THE year 1813 was destined to be a memorable one in Genevan annals. When the Allied Armies approached the French frontiers, Geneva, which had already for some time been a centre for most of the mental and intellectual ferment, stimulated by such writers as Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant and Sismondi, did not even await the departure of the body of French officials, who were summoned back to their own country, ere a National Provisional Government was hurriedly formed, with the avowed object not only of temporary administration, but of bringing back the former independence of a Republic; and when the Austrians, under General Bubna, entered the city, they found its new automatic administration in full working order. A delegation from this Town Council was despatched to Bâle, where the Allies were stationed, to beg their favorable consideration for the town, and one of their number remained with the army as it moved onward, in the hope of serving in some way the interests of his country by doing so. The instructions of these deputies, in so far as they had received definite ones, appear to have been to present to the Sovereigns of Europe the following claims: 1st, they asked for the recognition of the political independence of Geneva by the Powers; 2d, that it should be made into a Canton and form part of the recognized "Swiss Confederation," and 3d, that a certain amount of territory should be added to it.

Strange as it may seem, however, it was the existence of this last claim which proved their bane; for the good people of Geneva were by no means agreed as to the amount of foreign territory not only that they wished to claim, but even that they were willing to accept! For the chief preoccupation of Genevan legislators was how they could best preserve their city—their dear virgin Protestant Rome—in its primal, or at least seventeenth and eighteenth century, simplicity of doctrine; and it occurred to the venerable Consistory, as a terrible and much-to-be-avoided evil, that if they became possessed of a large amount of Catholic territory, such as Gex, the Chablais and part of Savoy, which for their own unscrutable reasons the Powers desired to present them with, the preponderance of Catholic subjects, and therefore Catholic

voters, would become considerable, and tend to swamp the Calvinistic element which ruled their town. The more bigoted among them, therefore, were strongly disposed to hold out against any (political) part or fellowship with the surrounding districts, and, while acquiescing in a federal union with the other Swiss cantons, to preserve the narrow limits of their primitive townships undisturbed. In fact, they looked back with regret to the "good old times" when Calvin reigned undisturbed within a very narrow limit, and even suburbs and boulevards were cut away to make room for the most rigid city walls which ever resisted an "escalade."

But to render the dilemma still more perplexing, not only did the Powers propose to insist on presenting Geneva with a large tract of unwelcome Catholic territory, but the rest of the Confederation—Switzerland—required of Geneva that before joining them she should draw together and make compact her somewhat fragmentary domain; while a further counsel of prudence warned them not to wound the susceptibilities of France by assisting in her threatened dismemberment. There were three more or less distinct parties in Geneva: Those who refused any aggrandizement of territory, at any price; those who were willing to accept just what was necessary to connect certain outlying districts with the townships, and those who, with large ambitions, proposed the acceptance of the whole neighboring district round the lake. Of course, in a town like Geneva, the whole political question was in reality a religious one; and the extreme party indignantly asked, "What could be done if the proposed territory was made one with themselves, that is to say, 110,000 Catholics as against 32,000 Protestants?" It would be a case of suicide, they argued, for "it is not on account of its extent that Geneva is something; it is on account of its religious influence. To encroach upon that influence is to destroy it, and to destroy it is to decapitate Geneva."

It may easily be inferred that to bigoted minds but one step further was needed to recall to them the fact that Catholicism had, in very truth, begun to reassert itself among them, and they began to cry out that "the devouring cancer" which had begun to eat them away for the last fifteen years (under French protection) must now be rooted out. The Church of St. Germain, they decided, must be taken from the Catholics.

When the French officials quitted Geneva, and the Allied Armies entered in their stead, the first belief and hope of the Genevese was that the Catholic curé and his *vicaires* would retire in their

train, and they manifested their disappointment at his continued presence by hootings and insults to the priests as they passed along the streets. "You will not go, then! you are waiting to be hunted out," they yelled after M. Vuarin and his companions, as he has recorded himself in his memoirs. It was a perilous moment—not for himself, but that he saw his labors of ten years past about to be brought to nought, church and schools closed, nuns banished, his people left spiritually destitute. He looked round, and saw no reasonable hope of support; neither the Protestant Provisional Government nor the semi-infidel Austrian general would give him even the half-hearted encouragement of the departing French; so, with his marvellous clear-sightedness and audacious quickness of action, he decided to take a very bold step. When the government deputy left Geneva for Bâle, to plead their cause before the Allied Sovereigns, M. Vaurin left too, almost simultaneously, in one of the frequent and secret journeys to which he was addicted, and to which he had accustomed his entourage. On arriving at Bâle he procured a letter of recommendation to the Prince de Schwarzenberg, general-in-chief of the Allied Armies, and then proceeded on his way. It was a bold game, but a hazardous one—the Swiss deputies and the Catholic curé, each unknown to one another, hastening along the same road, the one with such helps as might be won for them by their semi-official position, yet, even so, greatly impeded in their journey by "the want of forage and other necessaries," which induced some of their number to turn back half-way; the other, a solitary, unprotected individual, more than unpopular both in creed and person, fighting his way through these same "obstacles" by sheer force of will. A fortunate, we may say providential, accident helped the brave jurist at this juncture in a manner as unexpected as effectual. While on his way to the headquarters of the Allies he arrived at some small town (its name has not transpired) and found himself unable to proceed further. Putting up for the night at the principal hotel of the place, he met and made acquaintance with a Russian Pope, also on his way to headquarters; and the latter was so charmed with our curé, whose manners indeed, as we have already remarked, were exceedingly dignified and gracious, that he offered him a seat in his own carriage. Nothing could have been more fortunate; and, thus protected and escorted, M. Vuarin passed through the long tract of country, half-impassable under its winter snows, and wholly infested by bands of pillaging and devastating Cossacks, not only in safety, but with honor, his courteous protector beguiling the way with every attention and civility.

Thus helped on his journey, M. Vuarin arrived safely at Vesoul, obtained an audience of Prince Schwarzenberg, and was very cordially received by that personage, who presented him with letters to Prince Metternich and to General Bubna, requesting this latter to take the curé of Geneva under his protection, to pay him his salary as the former government had done, and to see that he received, during the Austrian occupation of Geneva, all the consideration and respect due to his rank and merit. He added to these letters a safe-conduct back to Bâle, where the Allied Sovereigns were then stationed.

Armed with these documents, our intrepid curé returned to Bâle, where he arrived on the very same day that the Protestant Genevan delegates were admitted to an audience with the Sovereigns on behalf of their city, and great was their astonishment when they beheld their ever-active and almost ubiquitous enemy, the Catholic priest, *there before them!* Two days afterwards he presented to Prince Metternich a note on the preservation of the Church and the Catholic institutions in Geneva, and the Prince, in reply, promised them the protection of Austria, presented the petitioner to the two Emperors (of Austria and Russia), and showed his royal master the note in question, thereby evoking a substantial donation in favor of M. Vuarin and his charities. Contrary, too, to the frequent accusations of M. Vuarin's enemies, who reproached him with being hostile and indifferent to his country, it appears that the good curé took advantage of his favorable reception by the Powers to say a word in favor of Genevan independence; and so he returned victorious to his anxious and beloved parishioners.

When the repartition of Europe took place, and

"L'Angleterre prit l'aigle, et l'Autriche l'aiglon,"

while many an older and nobler nationality was swept away, Geneva, the Protestant Rome, received what she had petitioned for—her independence and union with the Swiss Confederation. Very little territory, after all, was conceded to her; and well, indeed, that it was so, for her first independent efforts were again, as before, to extirpate the "canker" of Catholicism which, thanks to its energetic representative, had hitherto so bravely weathered the storm. M. Vuarin redoubled his activity to meet this new danger, travelled incessantly here and there, corresponded with Vienna and Turin, engaged the interest and co-operation of the Papal Nuncio, and among other interesting relations received and entertained, and won the warm sympathies of the venerable Monsignor della Genga, afterwards Pope Leo XII. Casting about to

find one who, better than himself, could represent the Catholic interests of Geneva in the political world, among the Councils and Courts of the Allied Powers, his choice fell upon one whose very name told eloquently of that cause, Count Paul-François de Sales, greatnephew of St. Francis. The character of this nobleman may be guessed by a charming little anecdote which is related of him. When some one asked the Comte de la Ferronays "whether M. de Sales was as pious as his celebrated uncle, the great Bishop of Geneva?" "St. Francis?" replied he; "St. Francis was but a feather-brain (*un égrillard*) in comparison with his greatnephew!" In more and more prosaic words, he was "an old-fashioned Savoyard, devoted, intelligent, thoroughly and unflinchingly Christian"; and M. Vuarin himself had, so to speak, made him, having been the one to draw him out of the obscurity of a country gentleman's retired life, to become the diplomat and the courtier. Once the interests of his congregation were in the hands of this faithful friend, M. Vuarin felt and expressed himself comparatively safe; but a long and doubtful period was to supervene, during which, for many months, the very existence of Catholicism in Geneva was destined to hang in the balance.

The reunion of a considerable portion of Catholic territory to Protestant Geneva, in 1816, began a new era in the administration of that city. The arbitrary reparation of Europe by the Allies resulted, in many countries, in a lamentable subjugation of Catholic territories to Protestant Governments, as in some of the submerged German States. All States have a natural tendency to override and oppress the Church; still more, of course, those Protestant Governments which cannot, by their very nature, brook the principle of doctrinal authority which is involved in the very idea of the Catholic Church. Consequently, while the laity belonging to these severed communes accepted their change with little concern, having already been accustomed to look on Geneva as their chief centre of material interests and prosperity, their clergy bitterly resented it. They were, in the first place, the more educated portion of the community; they were Savoyards; they were members of a French diocese, and they could not but feel themselves exiled from both patriotic and religious comradeship, to be placed under a hostile and even persecuting power, which was continually preoccupied with plans for stamping out Catholicism in its own city. The Genevan authorities, too, began by posing hostilely from the outset, and thus two camps were speedily formed.

M. Vuarin himself, the cleverest head, as well as the recog-

nized chief among the clergy, tried hard, in vain, to persuade the authorities to use some moderation in their dealings with the Catholic party. "If you wish us to agree," he said one day to some member of the great Council, "govern like philosophers." "Like philosophers, M. le Curé?" exclaimed his astonished questioner; "you are not thinking of what you are saying!" "Yes, gentlemen, like philosophers," insisted the curé. "Have, as private individuals, your own religion, and practise it; but, as magistrates, be neither Catholic nor Protestant; be philosophers, that is to say, be impartial; by which I do not mean to infer," he added, smiling, "that you should govern like unbelievers!"

Could anything be wiser or fairer than this recommendation? Nevertheless, his interlocutors did not take the hint, and difficulties of the gravest kind were constantly arising, especially on such important points as the question of secular or religious primary schools, the observance of feasts or days of obligation, the marriage laws, including those touching mixed marriages and divorce, and that of ecclesiastical nominations. As an instance of the extremely biased tone of the administration, an appropriate anecdote here speaks for itself: On the 29th of January, 1817, the Feast of S. Francis of Sales, Patron of Savoy, some Protestant inhabitants of Vandœuvres went, out of bravado, to work the ground in the Catholic commune of Chonlex. The Adjoint, or assistant to the Mayor, requested them to desist, and on their refusal, summoned them to retire, and called for the assistance of the *garde-champêtre* and two other guards to turn them out. The intruders were forced to retire, leaving their implements of work in the hands of the communal authority, after a determined resistance, which provoked the latter to issue a summons against them. What was the Adjoint's amazement when, far from his authority being recognized or upheld, he was arrested himself, together with the three guards, accused of *infringing the liberty of the subject*, imprisoned, fined and degraded from his post. What wonder that a Catholic population were indignant at this open insult to their leaders and their religion? We are informed that the same insult has since been constantly offered by the Protestant members of the community to their Catholic brethren in these districts.

It must not be supposed for a moment that the constant polemics and semi-political struggles in which M. Vuarin was engaged were allowed to infringe in any way upon his parochial duties. On the contrary, he was talked of as "curé jusqu'au bout des ongles." In the year 1817 a terrible famine broke out over the whole of Europe, and Geneva suffered like the rest, espe-

cially M. Vuarin's flock, which, being principally composed of work-people, servants and so on, were the class which suffered most. Both he and his Sœurs de Charité expended sums which can only be described as enormous, for the relief of actual want, while on the other hand Geneva, as one of our authorities bitterly remarks, "thought less of relieving the poor than of humiliating the Catholics." It was almost another case of the "soupers" in Ireland. The Protestant charities of Geneva drew the line at "strangers," which, for the most part, meant the unhappy Catholic Savoyards, and refused absolutely any concurrence with the Sœurs de Charité; while, when they sent help to the starving villagers of Savoy, it was with tempting suggestions, such as, "If you were Protestants, you would not be in this misery; it is a Catholic Government (Piedmont) which is leaving you to die of hunger."

Every new incident, every turn of the wheel, as it were, showed more and more clearly the deliberate and undying antagonism of Geneva and its rulers to the Catholic element in their midst, and M. Vuarin could not but feel that he himself was the sole pivot and centre upon which that element depended, and that, his own influence and personality once removed, whether by death or other occasion, the whole fabric which he had so patiently built up would probably fall to pieces. His earnest desire, therefore, was so to establish both Church and nuns that they would stand alone on a firm footing, and to this end he sought to establish and endow in perpetuity his little community of Sisters. An unforeseen circumstance helped to bring this about. In 1818—just when the terrible famine had proved a more than usual drain on the always precarious, though abundant, resources which M. Vuarin gathered so indefatigably from far and near—a very eligible house, close to the Church of St. Germain and to the Sisters' temporary abode, was for sale. It was, as they felt, a chance which might not occur again, and the good curé was extremely anxious to avail himself of it. Although, therefore, he had little available money in hand, he trusted in Providence on that score, and commissioned a trusty friend to commence negotiations in his own name, well knowing that the house would never be sold to the Catholic curé. The price was fixed, the bargain almost concluded, when the ever-watchful authorities warned the seller to "look well as to who is the real purchaser. You will be compromised in the eyes of your fellow-citizens," they said, "if you help to install nuns in Calvin's city." So, when the contracting parties appeared before the notary, and the signatures were about to be appended to the deed

of sale, the seller demanded, before signing, "*the name of the real purchaser.*" As he suspected, it was M. Vuarin; and quick as thought the rejoinder came. He refused to sell. Finally the nominal buyer was forced to become a genuine purchaser, and to re-sell, in his turn, the property in question, involving double expenses of tax and stamp duties. Fortunately they effected the transfer quickly, and registered the sale, for no sooner was the affair known than the lawyer was summoned before the Syndic to answer for his part in the affair, and overwhelmed with reproaches and abuse. The Council of State was immediately convoked, and at its first sitting passed a law *interdicting strangers from acquiring property in the Canton of Geneva.* It was rather like "locking the door when the steed was stolen." Then the enraged magistrates attacked the curé openly. "In what quality had he become a house proprietor in Geneva?" they asked him. "I bought because I had the right to do so!" he replied. In vain they sought to make him commit himself to some assertion as to whether he considered himself a citizen or a stranger; he declined to say. "If he would not reply, they would declare his purchase null and void," they threatened. "Null?" queried the priest, "but, M. le Syndic, you doubtless forget that we are not in Turkey or in China? There are laws and courts here; if you believe my action to be invalid you can attack it legally, and I can defend myself." They dared not bring the question into open court, not being sure of their ground; but one of their number was deputed to examine into the affair, and they found, to their chagrin, that by a law of the 16th November, 1816, "all persons were citizens of Geneva who, domiciled on the old or the new territory, and professing the Christian religion, was proprietor of any portion of territory whatsoever on the soil of the republic on the 16th of March, 1816. Now the curé of Geneva had been domiciled in the chef-tien, or chief town, of the Canton since 1806; he "professed the Christian religion," and the tax-record showed him to be a land-owner in three different communes under Genevese rule. So his claim was unimpeachable, and the Sœurs de Charité received their new house. It was paid for and endowed by some of the generous contributions his eloquent pen evoked from Catholics on all sides, only one of which we can here note—a sum of 3000 francs from Pope Pius VII., who, in a Brief in which he "regrets being reduced to the necessity of offering so small a sum," assures his devoted son that "We know with what devotion you cultivate that lately-planted vine, . . . and We heartily embrace this occasion of showing Our affection for you."

During these semi-private and personal disputes between M. Vuarin and the Genevan Government, a greater and even more important one was in course of discussion between Rome and the Powers. Geneva, for her own ends, demanded the transfer of her Catholic parishes from the diocese of Chambéry to that of "some Swiss bishops," and those who knew best, M. Vuarin among them, opposed the change. The question has played so important a part in Genevan ecclesiastical affairs of late years that we cannot pass it over here, and a memoir, drawn up by M. Vuarin, in the name of the clergy of the "separated" communes, who deputed him to carry it to Genoa, where the Pope was then residing, shows better than any more recent explanation their feelings in the matter, as well as the attitude of those who, both before and after this time, held the same ground.

After recalling the events which led to certain parishes from France and Savoy being united to the new Canton of Geneva, and the Article which provided for their remaining under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Chambéry, the memoir goes on to recapitulate the dangers likely to arise from this supremacy of "Protestant Rome" over Catholic country places, and the greater need which therefore arose for strict and continual surveillance by ecclesiastical authority—a surveillance which could not, so they argued, be adequately maintained by any Swiss bishop—the memoir proceeded in words to the following effect :

"The diocese of St. Francis de Sales, where priests abound, whose ecclesiastical traditions are in full force and vigor, is the only one which can fulfil this mission. Fribourg cannot do so; it is far away, geographically speaking, poor in priests, relaxed in discipline, lies at the mercy of a Protestant 'Helvetian Diet,' unprotected, as is Chambéry by a Catholic State (Piedmont), and moreover differing essentially from all the habits, ways of thinking and language, from the orphaned parishes."

Such was the memoir presented by "the wise and venerable priest of this anxious and troubled church" to the chief pastor, and much diplomatic discussion followed between Nuncio, Genevese delegates, cardinals, and diplomats, great stress being laid on certain ecclesiastical abuses which were then prevalent in Switzerland, as a result of the obstructiveness of the various Cantonal administrations, and which, we may add, have at this day, more especially in the diocese of Fribourg, given place to a thoroughly pious, strict, and well-ordered discipline in that city, called by its neighbors "le petit Rome," under the sway of a succession of wise and saintly bishops.

Through all the long struggle—a conflict lasting for *years*, with the usual "red-tapeism" and lengthy correspondence (in one place

we find a Roman cardinal receiving an important letter from the Genevan Council, which he left for nearly two years unanswered)—it was recognized on all hands that M. Vuarin was the centre and chief of the opposition. He had his supporters in every court—Rome, Vienna, Turin, Paris, Sardinia, the Swiss Nunciature. As his bishop (of Chambéry) wrote :

" You conduct your operations like a real general, my dear friend ; you have your outposts, your spies, your auxiliaries . . . but alas ! I fear that all will be of no avail."

Following his example, then, his opponents essayed to fight him with his own weapons ; they commissioned one of their principal men, a Syndic named M. de la Rive, who had always been friendly with the curé of Geneva, to *talk him over*. Various tête-à-tête déjeuners and amicable discussions are recorded in M. Vuarin's letters, at this time, between M. de la Rive and himself, and the former argued plausibly enough :

" The union with a Swiss diocese would pacify everything as if by enchantment ; we would give you a seminary in Geneva itself ; we would arrange for an endowment (des bourses) ; you should go yourself to Fribourg and arrange the terms of union with the new bishop. What matters it to you that your captain should live at Fribourg or at Chambéry ? He is your captain all the same ! "

To all these arguments M. Vuarin remained deaf, and however acceptable they may appear to us at this day, we can hardly judge, as he did, of their reasonableness at that moment. The fight continued, the Powers intervened on the side of the Genevan magistrates, and at last, on the 20th September, 1819, a Papal Brief, " *Inter multiplices*," transferred the Catholic parishes of the Canton of Geneva from the diocese of Chambéry to that of Lausanne and Fribourg.

It was a terrible blow to M. Vuarin, as also to the Archbishop of Chambéry, whose consent was not even asked, but who submitted in the humblest and most whole-hearted manner. Unfortunately for M. Vuarin, the Papal Nuncio, who resided at Lucerne, and had always been most friendly with him, was changed about this time, and his successor, a certain M. Glütz, was, so we are told, a time-serving and subservient courtier, submitting to and currying favor with the Genevese Government. On the publication of the Papal Brief he immediately repaired to Geneva, treated its curé with insolence and disdain, and formally announced the transfer of the parish to its new diocese without observing any form of courtesy either towards Mgr. de Solle, of Chambéry, or his priests. Mgr. Yenni, of Fribourg, however, the new diocesan,

was more considerate, and immediately placed himself in correspondence with Mgr. de Solle, who referred him for all business details to M. Vuarin, "that worthy ecclesiastic in whom you will find all the information acquired by experience and sound judgment." He parted from his former subjects with a letter which, as Joseph de Maistre wrote of it, was "a masterpiece of goodness, of attachment, and of stifled sorrow." His orphaned Genevan clergy replied in the following touching words :

"As of old the Jews, exiled to a strange land, turned their eyes towards Jerusalem to call down upon their nation the former mercies of the God of Israel, so we prostrate ourselves in spirit before the shrine of the Apostle of the Chablais, and we say to him, 'Count us still among the number of thy children!' You have blessed us already, Monseigneur! As Bishop, as Father, as Friend, as Aged One in the shadow of the Altar! Bless us again! Each one of us asks this grace of you! *Non dimittam te, donec benedixeris mihi!*"

And now we approach a most important period in the history of Catholicism in Geneva. Its new bishop, Mgr. Yenni, of Fribourg, though a most saintly man personally, was, in his official capacity, both lamentably weak and also unhappily inclined to yield on every side and to the utmost possible limit to "the powers that be." In fact, his character was the strongest possible contrast to that of the curé of Geneva, whose failing was rather on the side of extreme sternness and unyielding severity. Accustomed, too, as was the bishop to the restraints and state of absolute subservience in which the Church in Vaud, Neuchâtel, and Berne (the Protestant portions of his diocese), and even in Catholic Fribourg, was held, he found, as he constantly asserted, that "really the Catholic religion was freer in the Canton of Geneva than in all the rest of his diocese"; and when its Council of State (only the mouthpiece of that all-powerful factor, the Protestant Consistory of Pastors) essayed to treat with, or rather to hoodwink him into making dangerous concessions with regard to Catholic liberties, he fell blindfold into the snare, in spite of all the warnings of the wiser and more experienced M. Vuarin, with results which were destined to be fatally far-reaching in their effect, even down to the present day.

During the visit before referred to of the Papal Nuncio, M. Glütz (formerly Vicar-General of Bâle), a proposition had been made to him by the Gevenese Government of an "arrangement" or *modus vivendi* to be entered into between themselves and the ecclesiastical authorities. He was found to be so easy-going and temporizing, during their discussions, that on his departure the concessions discussed were crystallized into a formal "conven-

tion," and submitted as such to Mgr. Yenni, who, to M. Vuarin's horror and despair, accepted and signed what was virtually the forfeiture of Catholic independence in Geneva. The principal heads of this agreement were as follows :

1. The bishop of the diocese was, before nominating new parish priests, to submit their names to the Council of State, and if they objected to the nominee, to put him aside and choose another.

2. At the installation of each curé or rector, the Genevan Council was to send an officer of their own to introduce and present the pastor to his new flock.

3. Every curé was to take the following oath before the Town Syndic : "I swear to do nothing contrary to the safety and tranquillity of the State, to preach to my parishioners submission to the laws, obedience to the magistrates, and union with my fellow-citizens. I swear to obey the established order of things as conscientiously as I will obey, in religion, the orders of the Church and of my ecclesiastical superiors."

4. The Council on its part promised to maintain two or three theological students, *chosen by itself*, at the Fribourg Seminary, and to contribute a certain sum yearly to that institution.

5. The Council promised a yearly stipend to the bishop.

It seems that these last two articles had induced at least the Nuncio to forget far weightier questions at issue. The convention was accepted and signed by Mgr. Yenni, under a verbal reserve of subjection to Rome's approval, which was never referred to at Geneva, nor obtained from Rome. The bishop, indeed, refused to permit a suggested clause relative to the publication of Papal Briefs or Bulls, but bound himself personally, and without enjoining his successors, to communicate his pastorals to the Genevan Government before sending them out. The latter body then supplemented their convention by passing the following Cantonal laws :

1. That the Bulls, Briefs, and other acts emanating from the Court of Rome cannot be received or published in the Canton without the permission of the Council.

2. That no pastoral, instruction, or other writing, containing clauses contrary to the Federal agreement, etc., be printed or made public.

3. That the Council can order the retention of ecclesiastical stipends for various infractions of law.

And it appears that these laws were so rigorously enforced that for several years the priests of Genevan parishes knew the acts of Rome only through public papers or posters ; but, their government having also arrogated to itself the right of issuing to

them the bishop's pastorals, the village curés sent back to Fribourg the first of these documents which reached them through that channel, with a declaration that they "considered as not received all publications of that nature which reached them through Protestant magistrates."

Perhaps, however, those among the bishop's entourage who were not such hardened defenders of the Church's rights as was our good M. Vuarin may have considered the above concessions well given in exchange for an event which speedily followed the conclusion of the above negotiations. After three hundred years of spiritual eclipse, Geneva once more received a solemn pastoral visit. Monseigneur de Fribourg, in full canonicals, received ceremoniously by a delegate of the government and lodged at its expense, came to Geneva in the month of August, 1820, and there administered the Sacrament of Confirmation in the ancient Church of St. Germain. Later, the curés of the Canton assembled before him, welcomed him duly, but declined to take the oath referred to in the new convention unless authorized by Rome to do so. After some delay, the Sovereign Pontiff, reassured upon a doubtful point, gave the required permission; and M. Vuarin, who government *hoped* would prove refractory, submitted, and remained the diligent, active, *hated* incumbent of the parish of Geneva. Not that he would not have been welcomed elsewhere. Over and over again did he receive offers of ecclesiastical dignities. As far back as 1817 Mgr. de Solle had made him the most pressing offers, sending him a nomination as Vicar-General of Chambéry, and giving him to understand that he was named in ecclesiastical circles as the first bishop of the about-to-be-restored See of Annecy—the See of St. Francis—than which nothing could more effectually touch the heart of a Savoyard. The bishop of Troyes, on the other side, had long ago entreated him to accept a vicar-generalship under himself; the Duc de Noailles, one of his most intimate friends, wrote to him from London: "The day will come when you will have to yield to the Hand above, which draws you in spite of yourself to the episcopate." Count della Margarita, the First Minister of Charles Felix of Piedmont, offered him "a mitre in his own country, Savoy," over and over again, "but he always refused," wrote the count in his "Memoirs," "saying that a good soldier cannot quit the battlefield, and that he would not exchange his poor parish in the midst of Protestant Rome for the first bishopric in the world."

And so it was—as he so often repeated to those who would fain have persuaded him to bring his splendid zeal, his active brain,

his grand capacity for organization, to the service of other and less thankless fields of labor, in the words he had used in the beginning : "When one is named Curé of Geneva, one goes there, one stays there, and one dies." The Government of the town hated him, and would have "moved heaven and earth," if possible, to procure his dismissal ; Rome remarked him little at this time—we had almost said neglected him ; to his Bishop he was a somewhat irksome zealot, too eager, too uncompromising, for the weak and gentle Prelate. Those who genuinely loved and admired him were far away, and they called him unceasingly to their side ; but he stood steadfast, alone, like a great, strong, silent rock in the midst of beating waves and howling winds, ever uplifting the voice of rebuke, of warning, of stern, uncompromising truth. One friend—like himself "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," with words of warning, of rebuke, of prophecy, to that unstable generation which was tossed to and fro in the tempest of the great Revolution—one friend appears always with him in spirit, with words of counsel and encouragement ; Count Joseph de Maistre. Many and many a time did this great writer and profound thinker give words of comfort to him who was in the thick of the fight ; words instinct with that profound penetration which has won for him the title of "prophet."

"A thousand thanks, dear apostle," he writes, after the separation of Geneva from Chambéry, "for the interesting details you give me. Undoubtedly, this Brief pains one at the first glance, but on looking closer, one seems to perceive, without being quite able to penetrate through it, that there may be in the whole affair something hidden, some unknown mystery favorable to the truth. The Pope, my dear abbé, is led to-day as he was yesterday ; and sometimes, even in being weak, he leads us to great results, of which he is himself ignorant. Look at the barricades which are falling on all sides. The Council of Geneva, while singing of victory, translates and registers the Papal Brief. Let them translate *Fidelis Christi* as 'faithful in Christ' ; all that Protestant jargon does not touch the facts. Have you not seen that the Separation of the sixteenth century purified Catholicism, and that the true Reform took place among us ? The same miracle, or an even greater one, is on the point of being worked now ; *Rome goes her way and advances while drawing back.*" (Avance en reculant.)

M. de Maistre seems to have insisted often upon the latter sentence, which we find repeated again and again in his letters, for the comfort of his correspondent. When M. Vuarin writes to him of the unhappy "convention" just drawn up, he answers :

"Believe me, all that is not worth much. . . . It remains none the less true that the Roman Church has set foot in Geneva, that its Government is obliged to treat with the Beast which advances while drawing back, as I have had the honor of telling you already. *Macte animo.* Go your way, and let the 'Laws' pass by."

Again, some time later—and it was the last letter M. Vuarin

was ever to receive from his faithful friend, who even then had, as it were, one foot in the tomb—de Maistre writes :

“Remember what I had the honor to tell you three months ago ; in recoiling, she advances.”

Sometimes, indeed, a gleam of success, of momentary triumph, or what in his own tongue would have been called “*malice*” (which does not mean the *maliciousness* of ours), came into the weary struggle of years ; as when his Government decreed the keeping, by Catholics as well as Protestants, of December the 31st as a National Festival—the anniversary of their independence. They sent their commands to M. Vuarin for a special thanksgiving service, thinking to annoy him, and Catholic magistrates went in state to hear him preach. He gave them such a sermon on their duties and privileges as made the town wonder and the congregation stare. “It would have been impossible to have been more vigorous, more true, more pressing than you have been, nor to profit more cleverly by a unique circumstance to seize the batteries of your enemy and turn them against himself,” wrote de Maistre on this occasion.

In the year 1823 Pope Pius VII., once exile, and victim of many persecutions and intrigues, laid down the tiara which had proved so thorny a crown, and entered into rest. His successor, elected some months later, proved to be no other than the Cardinal della Genga, who had, ever since his sojourn in Geneva in 1814, taken the keenest interest in its new-born church, and held its worthy pastor in personal friendship and high esteem. M. Vuarin was rejoiced at the event, and took no time in offering his congratulations to the new Pontiff, expressing at the same time a wish that he might be allowed to report the actual condition of affairs in Geneva to the Pontiff by word of mouth. Leo XII. replied by a very cordial Brief, addressed to his former friend, saying :

“ You express a desire to come to Us in this city. Come ; your arrival will be very pleasing to Us ; and this is not only a permission which We address to you, it is a command. Bring with you all the documents which may be necessary in order to make known to Us exactly the state of the Church in your countries, that We may be able to procure its welfare. Inform Us of your departure ; Our intention is to be responsible for all the expenses incurred in your journey, undertaken for the interests of the Church.”

In response to this invitation, therefore, M. Vuarin wrote that as soon as the Easter season, with its pressing obligations of work and pastoral cares, was past he would present himself before the

Holy Father; and accordingly, after assisting at the Synod of Fribourg, presenting his bishop with a long memoir on the dangers and necessities of his parish, and preparing for his journey by a month of prayer and meditations, he set forth. It was not known at that time, even to his spiritual superiors, what an unheard of and audacious proposal he had it in mind to lay before the Sovereign Pontiff; in point of fact, the real object of this journey was never known until long after M. Vuarin's death; but from his posthumous papers, to which we have already referred, the whole transaction is now clear to us. M. Vuarin went to Rome to petition the Pope to re-establish the See of Geneva.

His journey was performed in company with a very close and intimate friend of his, who for many years—their correspondence ranges from 1819 to 1834—exchanged views and sympathetic comments on the subject nearest to each heart, no other than the celebrated Abbé Lamennais. At first sight the brilliant intellect of the great writer and theorist would seem to have but little in common with the stern, hard, practical worker and parish priest, yet friendship there was, and the 28th of June, 1824, found them entering the Eternal City. They attracted a certain amount of attention on their arrival, in ecclesiastical circles; Lamennais, the well-known writer whose words had thrilled all France, making his first appearance in the centre of that faith which he was then supposed to be defending, a small, thin, melancholy looking figure, "of mean presence," like St. Paul, while his companion more readily appealed to the impressionable Romans by his tall, imposing, dignified bearing, and his already widespread reputation as the man who for twenty years had fought single-handed, so to speak, against Protestantism in its own stronghold, and brought back the faith, in full light of day, in the rebel city of St. Francis.

So together these two went about, to dinners and audiences and the rest, and were feted and caressed for a time by the diplomats and the great ones of the earth. The embassy notes and private informations of this date told their principals how the curé of Geneva had come there "to solicit some favors for his parish," while secret police from his own country sought in vain to penetrate into the designs which brought him there. At his first audience with the Pope he presented a memoir explaining the dangers, difficulties and evils besetting the Church in Geneva, and its need of a more intimate, watchful and personal guidance; all which observations the Pope agreed with, and appointed two of his secretaries to examine into the matter. The memorandum set forth that in view of the various disadvantages arising from the

Catholic parishes in and around Geneva being annexed to the diocese of Fribourg, one of three solutions might be adopted. Either they might be transferred to the restored diocese of Annecy in Savoy, or to that of Belley in France, or the old diocese of Geneva might be restored. The first two proposals, he argued, were unadvisable—we presume from political reasons; therefore the third alone remained, and the not inconsiderable difficulties attending its adoption might, he went on to suggest, be obviated in the following way: The bishop of Fribourg should be privately made aware that the Holy See wished him to send in his resignation of the new portion of his diocese to the Genevan Government, under the plea of over-fatigue, without in any way implicating Rome in the action. The Genevan diocese once vacant, the Pope would name a bishop and provisionally endow him, so as to avoid all present expense to the government, which would then probably accept this arrangement in preference to the possibility of seeing a Savoyard or French authority called in. M. Vuarin here took care to place on record his formal resolution that under no circumstances would he himself take any other office than that which he now held, and he said this advisedly, that none should accuse him of coveting the mitre in Geneva.

The plan seemed a feasible one, and was approved by those appointed to examine the matter; so, as the consent of Mgr. Yenni was the preliminary step to be taken, the Pope at once charged M. Vuarin to select and intrust a discreet intermediary to sound the bishop of Fribourg on the question. So certain were all parties of the bishop's compliance with the Pontifical request that M. Vuarin was actually named "delegate of the Holy See" in the event of difficulties arising between the resignation of one bishop and the appointment of the other; and in this full confidence M. Vuarin returned to Geneva, loaded with presents and favors, and expectant of speedy success. What was the surprise of all parties when, on the matter being laid before Mgr. Yenni, he flatly refused to resign his sway over Geneva unless *officially* requested to do so by the Holy See. The condition was inadmissible. Some further correspondence followed, but in the end the whole project fell through, and thus was closed an episode of great and lasting importance in the ecclesiastical history of Geneva.

Soon after his return to Geneva (in 1825), M. Vuarin made another very exact and painstaking census of his parish, accompanied, as usual, by copious distributions of pious books, and even more complete than the former ones in every detail. His commentators justly marvel at the minute and voluminous record he

made here, for the fourth time, so overflowing with information, and apparently so quickly drawn up, though, indeed, not without redoubled energy on his part and the usual modicum of insults from outsiders. To quote from a few of the statistics thus laboriously gathered, we find that in a population of 4900 Catholic souls some 398 mixed marriages, almost all contracted without dispensations, and by Protestant ministers, had given Geneva 654 children, of which 563 were being brought up as Protestants and only 91 as Catholics. This was in Geneva alone; the country parishes showed almost the same proportion of defections; and, horrified at the results of his investigations, after so many years of labor among them, the curé of Geneva laid the state of affairs before Mgr. Yenni, and urged him to seek to stem the tide of evil by a vigorous pastoral and other measures. The timid bishop issued an appeal to the Genevan Government on behalf of his Catholic children frequenting Protestant schools, but very injudiciously confessed to acting at the instigation of M. Vuarin, and received a blunt refusal for his pains.

We are necessarily laying so much stress upon the more human and secular side of M. Vuarin's character, that perhaps his more devout one is somewhat obscured. Yet many an anecdote, besides the affectionate testimony of his familiars, could bear witness that he who preached to others did not forget to work at his own sanctification. One of these relates how, during a clerical meeting under the Bishop of Belley, M. Vuarin had apparently been enlarging upon his difficulties among the inhabitants of his "Protestant Rome," and the Bishop remarked, in the graceful way for which he was renowned, "But, my dear Curé, you should remember, sometimes, the saying of Henri IV.: one catches more flies with a spoonful of honey than with a barrel of vinegar!" "Flies! yes, Monseigneur," answered M. Vuarin, quickly, "but not wasps!" And he went on to enlarge somewhat warmly on the way he was misunderstood outside of Geneva, because, away from there, people could not understand the situation, nor the circumstances in which he was placed. Some minutes afterwards his conscience reproached him with having failed in respect towards the Bishop; so, drawing the latter aside, he threw himself at his feet, entreated his pardon, confessed, and received absolution.

It is said that those who knew M. Vuarin as the wary diplomat, the busy correspondent, the successful *intriguer*, if we may venture the use of this unsavory word in another sense, would have supposed him entirely given up to worldly affairs, and negligent, perhaps, of what should be his chief work; but those who knew

him as *Curé de Genève* only, absorbed in his services, his poor, his parochial administration, could only wonder how a daily life so fully occupied could find space for any extraneous interests. It was the old story of the truly busy man finding time for everything ; and, like most hard workers, he made the most of every opportunity that came in his way. For instance, the not infrequent visitors who made their appearance in his study, to say a word on business, to take a seat at his ever hospitable board, or even merely to pay an idle visit, often found themselves, to their own extreme astonishment, set down before a paper-laden writing-table, with the remark, “Here, mon cher ami, just copy this document for me !” or “Look out this reference which I want to find,” or “Write to so and so in my name on such a subject,” to fill up the idle half-hour before dinner or other occupation ; his curates, of course, being the most usual victims.

In 1826, the then reigning Pontiff, Leo XII., proclaimed a Jubilee—the first accorded for fifty years ; and M. Vuarin, with his usual *audacity*, sought and obtained official permission to publish it in Geneva, much to the surprise of every one. The fullest advantage was taken of this time of grace, in sermons, services, special and distinguished preachers invited to attract the multitudes (among whom the Irish Jesuit, Fr. Macarthy, is specially mentioned), with courses of instruction for all classes. A long and painful illness precluded M. Vuarin himself from taking any active part in the proceedings, and was followed by a second attack some time later, which in all probability laid the foundation of his final malady. Meanwhile, every renewal of strength brought fresh energy of mind to cope with the undiminishing difficulties of his pastorate. It is amusing, nowadays and under other circumstances, to read of the mingled hatred and terror with which our apostle inspired all classes among the Genevese. From the Town Council, who plainly told Mgr. Yenni that “their refusal to appoint a third curate for the ever-growing Catholic population in Geneva was not prompted by motives of economy, but solely from a desire to prevent M. Vuarin from exercising his very baneful influence over any more of the cantonal priests, whom he already influenced too much, as well as to avoid facilitating *his dangerous journeys*,” down to the humblest women in the street, who threatened their refractory children with “le Vuarin” in precisely the same manner as their grandmothers had invoked “the wolf” or “the black man,” one and all professed to shudder at his very name. Even attempts, or, at the least, threats against his life, were not wanting. “I hate you ! I abhor you ! Take care !” wrote a

Genevese tradesman to him. And an eye-witness related to his biographer that he had seen a child fly in affright to its mother's arms at the sight of a priest in the street, crying, "Ah, maman, the Vuarin! I've seen the Vuarin! And he did not hurt me!"

Fortunately for himself M. Vuarin only enjoyed such incidents, and positively delighted in recounting them to his friends, as well as in despatching witty or sarcastic replies to the numerous epistolary attacks he received. He relates among other things, in his notes, how, the Council of State having named a commission for examining into the prisons, he was included among the chaplains, and being present at one of the meetings, the Calvinist ministers invited him, out of malice, to "put up a prayer," doubtless thinking he would be at a loss to do so. M. Vuarin, however, coolly knelt down, blessed himself out loud, and began the "Veni Sancte Spiritus" in French. "It would be difficult to paint their horror," he writes; "they thought that I was going to say *Mass!* and did not recover themselves until I got up from my knees. After this terrible catastrophe I was not invited to any more meetings."

In vain did the "Venerable Company" (by which name was known the Calvinist ministers' Council) strive to relieve their shoulders from that ever-present "Old Man of the Mountain," the Catholic curé. A diplomatic suggestion to Rome that a priest of such merit should receive a mitre or a Cardinal's hat received the rejoinder from Leo XII., "I make a cardinal of M. Vuarin? Certainly not! I can find cardinals everywhere, but where could I find another Curé of Geneva?" And M. Vuarin himself declared to the King of Piedmont, who begged him to accept a bishopric in Savoy, "I have espoused the Church of Geneva! I do not divorce!"

If his bishop, Mgr. Yenni, failed in some degree to appreciate the almost defiant courage of the man who, like some outposted sentinel, stood alone to brave the storm of hostility which beat against the Church in Geneva, Rome at least knew and recognized his true worth—from Leo XII., who gave him the affection of a personal friendship joined to the approbation of a Pontiff, to Gregory XVI., who watched with fatherly tenderness the career of "his dear son of Geneva," and who, when a noble lady to whom he was giving audience, mentioned M. Vuarin's name, cried out, "Ah! the Curé of Geneva! he is very dear to Us! His life is a sublime one!" And later still, the saintly Pius IX., who, while Bishop of Imola, wrote of him in a letter still extant, as

"Of all the curés having charge of souls, the most zealous, the most devoted, the most attached to the Church, that I know of in the whole Catholic universe."

His friendship with the unhappy Abbé Lamennais is full of interest, but cannot be touched upon here, and the mere enumeration of contemporary celebrities with whom he corresponded fills several pages in his "Life." Not content, too, with the labor of this more than ordinarily voluminous correspondence, he contemplated and prepared materials for two important works, the "History of the Diocese of Geneva," and a "Biography of Leo XII."; for which latter work he received all the necessary documents from its subject, from Gregory XVI. and from Cardinal Pacca, and which still await the light of day in a manuscript of more than twelve hundred pages.

Much of his theological warfare with the Calvinists was carried on by means of pamphlets, which, some printed in Geneva, anonymously, and others, under various pseudonyms, in Savoy and elsewhere, pilloried untiringly and sarcastically each attack or false step of the foe; and not a few questions of the day were discussed, condemned, or held up to ridicule by his mordant pen. "You are an admirable *warrior*," wrote his friend Lamennais to him; and the secular government, realizing how much easier to deal with was the timid and vacillating Bishop of Lausanne than his bellicose curé, wrote ever of the latter as "that violent and fanatical priest," for whose removal they vainly "moved heaven and earth" for twenty years and more.

But though from time to time the vigorous resistance and perpetual conflicts of the Curé of Geneva with "the powers that be" did not receive all the support and approval he might have hoped for from his bishop, and though, in the words of his biographer, he "did not consider ecclesiastical submission to mean inertia and blind indolence," he was always profoundly loyal to his diocesan. It was thus that, soon after Easter, in 1837, he felt the certain coldness and unfriendly tone between himself and Mgr. Yenni must be put an end to; and going out to Fribourg, he solicited and obtained an interview with that prelate in which these two men of God, recognizing each the sanctity and good-will of the other, embraced with tears, and began a new and more affectionate relationship which lasted to the end of their lives.

It was during this or the preceding year that, perhaps wearied out with the unceasing execrations of which he was the object, M. Vuarin made an offer to his bishop and to the Genevese authorities that he would resign his post as curé on the following conditions :

1st. The concession to the Catholics of another church, or the enlargement of St. Germain. [N.B.—The Catholic population

now numbered more than 7000 souls, and their only place of worship, St. Germain, held only 1000.]

2d. Government recognition of a third *vicaire*.

3d. Authority to hand over his own house as a permanent possession to the Sœurs de Charité.

4th. The respect due to the Catholic cemetery to be guaranteed.

5th. That in the public Town Hospital two rooms should be set aside for patients nursed by the Sœurs de St. Vincent.

These very moderate demands were not granted, and M. Vuarin remained in his *cure*, continuing, though with gradually failing strength, to add one good work to another. Four Christian Brothers were again brought to teach his schools, and, after some opposition, installed there. A Catholic hospital and an orphanage were begun, on a property which he had bought at Plainpalais. But he was no longer able to journey hither and thither, soliciting alms for his various good works; his strength was failing, and on the 12th of September, 1839, he was stricken down with an apoplectic or paralytic stroke. It was the beginning of the end, but the end was a very lingering one; at first able to say Mass, then only to appear in his church from time to time, to give Benediction or speak an affectionate word to his beloved congregation. "The good God has placed me under arrest," he would say, sadly. His time was filled by prayers and meditations, and when his head was weary he would creep to the door of one or other of his *vicaires* and beg them to come out and pray with him. Then, nearer to the end, a trial came which has been known to more than one of God's saints. He was plunged in the darkness of an utter spiritual desolation. The most bitter hopelessness, the most tormenting scruples, devoured his soul. Day and night he could neither sleep nor rest; in his anguish he petitioned everyone who came near him to "pray for him, pray for him," sending even in the middle of the night for his favorite *vicaire*, M. Marilley, to come and stay beside his bed and join in prayer with him.

It was a long agony—agony rather of soul than of body; perhaps the "purgatory in this life," for which so many holy souls have prayed; and the watchers by that suffering death-bed have left it on record how, from the impetuous, somewhat passionate and too easily moved man he had always been, his character became completely changed, and he was humble, patient, docile; grateful for every slightest service done him, silent under the severest pains. At length, on the 5th of September, 1843, those about him remarked his more than usually alarming state. To

the Sister who nursed him by day, as she put all in order and "hoped that he would have a good night," he patiently answered, "As the good God wills," and, with a presentiment she could not account for, she charged his servant to call her should any change occur. The change came—she was called at midnight, and the agony began. At six o'clock a Mass was said for him, and then M. Marilley confessed and anointed him, after which "Go and say your own Mass, and bring me the good God afterwards," whispered the dying man; but scarcely had his *vicaire* left the room when the final moments approached; another priest present gave him the last absolutions, and immediately afterwards he expired.

"It is beautiful to die so loved," was the exclamation of a Protestant who witnessed the grief of his people, a grief worthy of his life-work among them. The holy body was embalmed and exposed to public view for seven days, in a *chapelle ardente* made for the occasion in his house; after which some twenty thousand people, from all Savoy, Gex and Switzerland, lined the roads leading to Geneva, to join the funeral procession. The Bishops of Lausanne and of Annecy and about two hundred priests formed the congregation within the church, and the procession to the cemetery was "a Catholic demonstration such as Geneva, even in old times, had never before seen." First the schools, led by Christian Brothers and Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul; then the young girls of the parish, in white. Four Sisters of Charity headed the ladies of the parish, in mourning; then the young men, also in black; then two hundred priests, surplice on arm, and then the two Bishops, and the coffin, borne by twelve of the principal gentlemen of the parish; then, four deep, the whole Catholic population of the canton, some twelve or fifteen thousand people. "If the Pope had died among us," said one of them, "it would not have been possible to have done more."

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It is painful to be obliged to add here how much of the noble work in which M. Vuarin spent his life has been undone by the persecutions of later days. *Sœurs de Charité*, Christian Brothers, Catholic hospital, all are gone. The Church of St. Germain, and a still grander pile, the beautiful Church of Nôtre Dame, built since his death, are in the hands of the wretched handful of schismatics who took their being from the boastful demonstrations of an apostate monk—may he still, even at this eleventh hour, find place for repentance!—Hyacinthe Loysen.

T. L. L. TEELING.

CORONA SPINARUM.

IN the mediæval nomenclature of trees and plants there is to be found a great store of sacred association which gives expression to the vivid faith of the time and surprises us with its acquaintance with the botanical products of other countries. Among these sacred names we would naturally expect to find a large number of dedications to our Lord ; but it is rather astonishing to discover that we might form from them a history of His life from the cradle to the Ascension, and read in nature, among its trees and herbs, memorials that spoke to our forefathers of each period of His days on earth. The Annunciation, the visit to the home of Zacchary, the Nativity, the Circumcision, the death of the Holy Innocents and flight into Egypt, the whole of the commemorations in Lent, Holy Week, Easter, the Ascension, and much more, could all be illustrated from this pious nomenclature of olden time, of which remains are to be found in use still in the folk-lore of every christened land. In days when life was more rural and reposeful, men made earth a garden, with the stream of the Passion forever flowing through it ; and at every season of the year and in countless varieties of ways they especially recalled, in the identity of some tree or herb mentioned in Holy Writ or in legend, or else in figure or emblem, the several stages of the concluding scenes in the earthly life of their Redeemer. Trees and flowers, birds and stars, were all found to assist them in giving expression to the emotion of their hearts, and this gave an interest to natural objects and provided a medium for poetic expression which is entirely healthy and elevating to the mind. Among the flora sometimes the names are found to have originated in the attempts to identify some natural object mentioned in the Bible, and often in this the old folk-lore nomenclature is entirely accurate and as close as the critical study of modern botany can attain ; at other times it is as types or emblems that the names are given, serving a purpose as fruitful as scenes depicted upon the sculptured or painted walls of some cathedral church, from which they were oftentimes borrowed. In relation to our present study upon the Crown of Thorns we shall see illustrations of this, and we might gather examples from other departments of natural history than that of botany. Many legends were told with regard to various familiar birds, such as the sparrow, cross-bill, magpie, stork, robin, etc.,

in connection with the Passion, to attract attention to their habits and invest them with a teaching that forms the poetry of life, if nothing more. The robin especially belongs to our subject, for it was said to have dyed its breast with the Saviour's blood while endeavoring to pluck a thorn from the Crown that pierced His brow—a story often used by the poets, as in the following lines of John Hoskyns-Abrahall :

“ Bearing His Cross, while Christ passed forth forlorn,
His God-like forehead by the mock crown torn,
A little bird took from the crown one thorn
To soothe the dear Redeemer's throbbing head.
That bird did what she could ; His blood, 'tis said,
Down dropping, dyed her tender bosom red.
Since then no wanton boy disturbs her nest ;
Weasel nor wild-cat will her young molest ;
All sacred deem that bird of ruddy breast.”

Among the memorials of the Passion of our Lord, if we except the Cross itself, there is no emblem more recalled in the sacred flora than this of the Crown of Thorns, beloved not only by Christian artists and poets, but by all earnest-minded people, since none other, perhaps, brings to so acute a crisis the insult offered to the King of Kings and the cruel pain that He was willing to endure.

Many authorities, such as Durandus, Eckius, Lampergius (“Palæotti,” xiii., p. 148), St. Vincent (“Palæotti,” iii., p. 31), etc., consider that this crown was not a simple circlet around the head, as art has made us usually to think, but a kind of *pileus* or cap, the thorns not only turned around the brows but laced and “plaited,” as the Gospel says, over the head as well, after the fashion of Eastern crowns, something like what close-fitting, old-fashioned marriage-crowns resembled—*le casque du Fils de Dieu*, as Philippe Diez calls it ; and we shall see that, if we make reference to the venerable remains thought to be those of the Corona Spinarum, they tend to confirm this idea. In one treasury of Nôtre Dame Cathedral, in Paris, they possess a portion of the Crown, which singularly lacks in any resemblance to what we may have imagined, and is certainly not what one would expect. The reliquary containing it is a circle of crystal, which was mounted in a handsome silver-gilt monstrance during the Lent of 1896. Within is a ring of rushes, bound together with others, at several points, to keep them in place, some broken and others doubled up, but there are no thorns. It is not the sort of wreath that appeals to the eye, nor does it fulfil what artists usually depict or carve ; but this want of appropriateness that strikes the be-

holder at the first glance ceases upon more attentive study and becomes a strong witness in favor of its authenticity. No one wishing to form a false relic of this Crown would have made it of rushes, without thorns, and too large for the head, as measurements show this must have been. The explanation, however, becomes clear when we unite this *Notre Dame* relic with those found preserved in other churches. Elsewhere we find sprays of thorn or single spires, but nowhere else rushes (save a few fragments at Autun, Arras, Lyon and Chablis, this last known to have been taken from the main portion when, in 1791, it was sent to the Church of St. Denis). The explanation is that this rush circlet was the foundation around which the thorns were entwined; it had therefore to be larger than the head in order to permit of the spiny stems to be twisted around it, and probably carried over and fastened in its thickness. It would then be pressed down upon the Saviour's brow by means of a spear-shaft, or something similar, as is often suggested in early art.

As far as it is possible to say, the rush employed appears to be very like that now known as *Juncus Balticus*, which originally grew in warm countries, and possibly does still in the Jordan Valley. The *Juncus maritimus* is too large and the *Juncus acutus* seems to fulfil only some of the conditions. Tradition seems to have been existing in mediæval time that rushes had been used, for the pious pilgrim, Sir John Maundeville, does not omit their mention when he relates the thoughts upon the subject in his day, for he says that some believed that our Lord was crowned with "Jonkes of the see, that is to say, rushes of the see, that prykken als scharpely as thornes." We may find memorials of this in some names existing for local sedges and rushes. For instance, in parts of Germany the soft, pliant stems of the bulrush or poolrush (*Scirpus lacustris*), which we employ for seating chairs, etc., has the name of unsers herrn kron, a name whose significance has been entirely forgotten, and in England we had for the same the title of holrysche or holy rush, no doubt with identical intent. So, too, in southern France the pink-leaved *Carex cæspitosa* (Sin.) is called "Jounc de la Passiun," and in other parts of France and Belgium the *Typha latifolia* is the same. The latter is our reed-mace, and both it and the *Carex cæspitosa* also refer to the mock sceptre or mace placed in the Saviour's hand by the soldiers, and which early Italian painters and writers generally figure as the *Typha*. So, too, the wood rush or sweet bent (*Luzula campestris*) has still, in Surrey, the name of Good-Friday Grass, and in Cheshire of God's Grace (probably God's Grass), from its appear-

ing at the Passion-tide and reminding the men of old of the rushy circlet of the coronal of pain.

Before going further, it is worth our while to consider the history attached to the relics of the Crown of Thorns, and of this portion at Paris in particular, since the record of its veneration and preservation there since 1239 is quite uncontested. It appears that this and other instruments of the Crucifixion are said to have been found by St. Helena in the fourth century in a pit at the foot of Calvary, at least forty feet below the summit. It is also said to have been a Jewish law that nothing should be allowed to remain above ground of the instruments used to put a person to death, lest they should continue the memory of the crime and earth should be polluted by their presence (see *Maimonides*, "Sanhedrim," xv.); moreover, they were to be buried in a place apart from the body of the criminal. Now, no spot is more probable to have served this purpose than the place where the wood of the Cross was found, together with the other memorials of the Crucifixion, for all that would be needed was to throw them off the rock into this deep pit at its foot. One of the most interesting, because least altered, sites within the great Basilica that covers Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre is a chapel at the back of the site of Calvary and sixteen feet below the level of the pavement; it is dedicated to St. Helena. Thirteen steps descend again from this to the bottom of a pit, now known as the Chapel of the Invention or Finding of the Holy Wood, where the visitor finds himself about thirty-eight feet below the summit where the Crucifixion took place. St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, in A.D. 409, admits the existence of the Crown of Thorns as a notorious fact. St. Gregory of Tours, in the sixth century, speaks explicitly concerning it. At the time of the first Crusade in 1100, Alexis Comnenus wrote to Count Robert of Flanders about the numerous distinguished relics that were preserved in the Treasury of Constantinople and jealously guarded and venerated there. In 1204 the French and Venetians possessed themselves of this city, and Beaudoin, Count of Flanders, was elected Emperor of the East by the Crusaders of the two nations. In 1238 Baudouin II. de Courtenay, pressed by the Bulgarians and surrounded by foes, had to borrow money, and placed the great relic of the Crown of Thorns in the hands of the Venetians as a pledge. He desired, however, that it should be in the possession of his native land, and wrote to King Louis of France expressing this wish, and eventually it was obtained. The wreathing-thorns had probably been previously bestowed and scattered among various potentates,

as we shall see later, and what remained was this rush circlet, now at Nôtre Dame. The king and his court went to meet his ambassadors as they returned bringing the relic to Paris, awaiting them at Villeneuve l'Archevêque, five leagues from Sens, on August 10, 1239, and in eight days, amid an immense concourse, he brought it to his capital. In 1241 St. Louis began to rebuild his Palace Chapel as a fitting shrine for this and other relics, and in seven years La Sainte Chapelle was completed at the cost of 40,000 livres of that time. Up to 1656 the relic remained here; the keys of the Chapel were kept by the king himself, or by a noble deputed by him to guard them, but who was unable to lend them without the royal assent. Its subsequent history is told in the inscriptions upon the reliquary in which it is now preserved in le Trésor de Nôtre Dame. The first is "La Sainte Couronne de N. S. Jésus Christ conquise par Baudouin, à la prise de Constantinople en 1204, engagée au Venetiens en 1238, fût reçue avec grande piété par St. Louis à Villeneuve, près Sens, le 10 Août, 1239." The second, "Transférée de la Sainte Chapelle à l'abbaye de St. Denis, en France, par ordre de Louis XVI., en 1791, rappertée à Paris en 1793, dépouillée à l'hôtel des Monnaies et portée à la Bibliothèque Nationale en 1794, elle fut enfin restituée à l'église de N. Dame, par ordre du gouvernement, le 26 Oct., 1804." And the third adds, "Reconnue le 15 Oct., 1805, par P. Dienz ; et C. N. Warenplot, vicaire général de Coutanees, Chargés en 1791 d'enprendre une parcelle pour Port Royal, elle a été transférée solennellement à l'église N. Dame par J. B. Cardinal de Belloy, archevêque de Paris, le 10 Août, 1806."

At the same time that St. Louis was erecting La Sainte Chapelle in Paris the Pisans were constructing their architectural marvel, the Chapel of Santa Maria della Spina, dedicating it to the patroness of their city and to enshrine another portion of the Crown, viz., some of the thorns. Now neither beauteous building contains the relic for which it was designed, which even from a historical point is a subject for regret.

There are more relics of the thorns than of the rushes to be found scattered about Europe; we read of the Emperor Justinian in A.D. 527 giving some to St. Germain, Bishop of Paris; about A.D. 690 the Emperor Otho made the gift of one to King Ethelstan of England, which was afterwards preserved in Malmesbury Abbey, Wilts. About A.D. 800 the Patriarch of Jerusalem sent Charlemagne some, which Charles le Chauve gave to the Abbey Church of St. Denis, a fact recorded around his tomb. Earliest of all is the spray at Trêves, sent to that city by St. Helena herself;

St. Louis acquired others, which were once preserved with the unique portion he already possessed. In the Church of St. Michael, Ghent, is a Sancta Spina, once the property of the royal family of the Stuarts, and said to have originally been the gift of St Louis to them. In 1587, when Queen Mary was put to death by order of Elizabeth, she gave on the scaffold this heirloom of her house to the Duke of Northumberland, who, meeting a like fate to that of the Queen, bequeathed it to his daughter, by whom it was entrusted to the keeping of the Father-Provincial of the English Jesuits. By his order it was placed in its present rich reliquary of rock-crystal and sent for safety into Flanders, where so many English ecclesiastical treasures were deposited at the Reformation. Upon the foot of the cross-shaped châsse is to be read, “*Hæc Spina de Corona Dom Sancta Fuit primo Mariæ reg. Scot. mart. Ab ea dato comiti Northumb. mart. Qui in morte misit illam filiæ Suæ Elisæ, quæ dedit soc., hancq. will. ornavit auro.*” At the monastery of De la Spina in Spain; at Louvain; Electoral Palace of Munich; Rome, and many other places, may be found relics of this portion of the Crown of Thorns.

Mrs. Jameson remarks that the “Italian artists, with their usual refinement, have generally given a wreath of thorns small and sharp, with branches soft and pliable, and more fitted to have been plaited for such a purpose; while those north of the Alps have conceived an awful structure of the most unbending knotted boughs, with tremendous spikes, half a foot long, which no human hand could have forced into such a form.” But the explanation of this is probably to be found in the folk-lore nomenclature of the locality or country where the artist lived; for, as we shall see, a large number of thorny trees and shrubs bore the name of the Crown of Thorns—some in the effort of exact identification, but many others with no further purpose, and in some instances with no further possibility, than serving as a wayside *pieta* did, to take the thought of the traveller to Calvary’s rock.

The old pilgrim, Sir John Maundeville, probably gives the leading traditions of his day by which it was sought to account for the more prominent species of thorns associated with the Corona Spinarum. And to do so he makes four separate crownings—with white thorn, eglantine, berberis and rush. He says:

“In that nyghte that He was taken, He was ylad into a gardyn, and there He was first examyned righte scharpley; and there the Jewes scorned Him, and maden Him a croune of ye braunches of Albespyne, yt is White Thorn, that grew in the same gardyn, and setten it on His Heved, so faste and so sore, that the Blood ran doun be many places of His visage, and of His necke, and of His schuldres. And therefore hathe ye

White Thorn many virtues, for he that berethe a braunche on him thereoffe, no thondre, ne no maner of tempest may dere him ; ne in the houws that it is inne may non evylle gat entre ne come unto ye place that it is inne. And in yt same gardyn Seynt Petre denied our Lord thryes. Afterward was our Lord lad forthe before the bischoppes and the maystres of the lawe, into another gardyn of Anne and there also He was examyned, repreved, and scorned, and crouned eft with a White Thorn, that men clepe the Barbarynes, that grew in the gardyn ; and that hathe also many vertues. And afterwards He was lad into a gardyn of Cayphas, and there He was crouned with Eglantier. And afterwards He was lad into yr chambre of Pylate, and there He was examyned and crouned. And ye Jewes setten Hym in a chayere and clad Hym in a mantelle, and there made thei the croune of Jonthes of the see ; and there thei kneled to Hym and skorne Hym, seyenge : ‘Heyl, King of the Jewes.’ ”

The thorny nature of much of the vegetation of Palestine must have been a subject of remark to the early pilgrims from Europe ; the underwood is dry and prickly, numerous small grey spinous bushes of paterium, hawthorn, bramble, dog-rose, buckthorn and the like abound, while the very oaks, as well as the acacias, are prickly. There would be no long search needed to obtain material for our Lord’s Crown of Pain. The ordinary white thorn, or hawthorn, would be less likely to have been actually employed, since the difficulty of adapting any but the shorter sprays to the purpose, for the tree gets its botanical name of *Crataegus* from the Greek word for strength, in allusion to the toughness of its wood. It may have been one among the handful of various thorns gathered, and it belongs to the same family as the apple, the traditional fruit, in many lands, of the tree of the Fall, and therefore there was a poetic applicability in making it furnish this instrument of suffering to the Saviour. At Toulouse, moreover, they preserve a thorn as a relic from the Crown which has been closely examined by the learned Professor M. de Cloos, who considers it to be a species of Syrian *Crataegus*. Signor Pietro Savi, of Pisa, has also seen it, and is of the same opinion. Bartholinus thought that some such white thorn formed part, at least, of the thorns collected for the purpose, and of course there is no reason why only one species should have been used. The Norman peasant to this day wears a sprig of hawthorn in his cap from the belief that it was once upon his Saviour’s brow, and this notion was very prevalent in mediæval times. Many of its names will show this, such as Christ-dorn, still heard in Silesia ; Calavru or Calaviru in Sardinia ; La Sainte or La Noble Epine in France ; Hag, Halig, or Holy Thorn in England, Denmark and Scandinavia, while its fruit and early leaves have also many sacred associations. It is a common rustic saying that “the hawthorn groans on Good Friday night,” as if still mindful of the share one of its genus was forced to take in the day’s sad events ; and in Ireland these trees are the “Monument

Bushes," beneath which, formerly, the unbaptized children were buried, and upon passing which the peasant uncovers his head and repeats the "De profundis" psalm.

The Pink Hawthorn (*Crataegus pyracantha*, Pers.) is an Eastern tree; and in its lovely flowers men saw nature's memorial of this thorn having been sprinkled with the Saviour's blood; hence in Cheshire it is still known as Christ's Thorn; and we shall see the same pious thought connected with the sweetbrier or eglantine. It is curious to note that most of the Eastern traditions connected with the white-flowered thorny acacias are found in the West allied to the hawthorn, so that the latter is considered not only a component of the Corona Spinarum, but also the representative of what in the East is connected with species of acacia, such as the burning bush, the thicket tree in which Abraham caught the ram-substitute for his son Isaac, Moses' rod, and hence the "wishing tree," or divining rod. The lines of one of the Breviary hymns, to which we shall often refer for the commemoration of this instrument of the Passion, seems to recognize some of these types :

"Legis figuris pingitur
Christi corona nobilis (*noble épine*)
Implexa spinis victima (Abraham's ram)
Ardensque testatur Rubus." (Burning bush.)

The Acacias get their name from their sharp spines, and have white flowers, although the *Acacia lebbek* with which travellers in Egypt are familiar, has finer ones. The tree we usually know by this name, and commonly planted in England, does not belong strictly to the acacia genus at all, but is a North American product introduced in 1640; botanically it is the *Robinia pseud-acacia*, and to ordinary observers look it, and those that follow may be mistaken for acacias. It is remarkably handsome when covered with its white blossom, and its wood, when properly seasoned, is as strong and durable as oak. They know it in Italy as Spina Christi. Another most ornamental tree often called acacia is the *Gleditschia*, and one of its species (*G. triacanthos*) has branching thorns upon its stem which have become memorials of the thorny Crown. A fine specimen grows in the garden of the Bishop of London at Fulham. In France it is known as Acacia de la Passion or Epine de Christ, in Piedmont "Spin d'nostr Sgnour," in Italy generally Spina Cristi. It rises to the height of forty feet; its beautiful delicate leafage conceals the cruel thorn, whose branchings form a cross. The *Mimosa Juliflora* (Swartz) belongs to Jamaica, and in the French Antilles it is called, from its fearful spines, L'arbre de

Malédiction. The *Parkinsonia*, too, of the West Indies, is also in those islands the Holy Thorn, Jerusalem Thorn, or Epine de Jerusalem.

In the East the acacia, known under the name of *Sayal*, is not uncommon even nowadays, when Palestine and all Turkish governed lands are denuded of their timber, and where the effort seems to be to repress any chance of the fulfilment of the words, "I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, and the thorn (*Shittah* or *acacia sayal*), and the myrtle, and the olive tree. I will set in the desert the fir tree, the elm and the box together." (Isa. xli. 19.) We know the tree better, perhaps, under its plural form of *shittim*, from the tangled thickets into which it extends ; it abounds along the eastern and western terraces of the Jordan, defining them with its graceful verdure. Ablesatim, or Abel-Shittim, or the Meadow of Acacias, "in the plains of the Moabites," of Numb. xxxiii. 49, is still perhaps to be identified ; and the House of Acacias-Berhsetta or Beth-Shittah of Judges vii. 22 must be also near the Jordan, under the mountains of Ephraim. Of this wood was made the Ark of the Covenant and other furniture of the Tabernacle, and this is apparently recalled in the Breviary hymn whose first verse we have quoted above, the second continuing :

" Arcam corona 'cinxerat
Mensæque sacrum circulum,
Aramque thuri fermidam
Corona nectit ambiens."

Lastly, the wild acacia of the desert sands in the Sinai peninsula and elsewhere is the *Mimosa nelotica*, the Arabic sunt, with which all Eastern travellers are familiar, the Hebrew *seneh* or *senna* of Ex. iii. 2 and Deut. xxxiii. 16, where it is translated "bush." Its confused spread of branches, with their grey foliage and white blossom, is of frequent occurrence about Sinai, and to it local tradition attaches the belief of having been the Rubus in combustus of Moses. It differs but slightly from the *Acacia sayal*, but we can again trace a connection of thought between it and the Egyptian thorn, as they call the pink hawthorn (*Crataegus pyracantha*) in Cheshire, which in France bears the name of L'arbre de Moïse or Buisson ardent. There almost seems to be a further idea that the tree of the burning bush furnished material for the Crown of our Lord at His Passion, for the holly or holy tree is another instance of a combination of these associations. In Denmark it is known as Kristi tvon-krön, Krist torn, and the same in Norway, Sweden, and Germany, and in France as Epine de Christ ; yet alongside

with this we find the tradition of its being nature's type of the burning bush, of which it forms a singularly beautiful picture, with its flame of scarlet berries amid its green leaves. In the early days artists were wont to place type and antitype upon missal-page or window, and one of the most familiar was this of the bush on fire yet unhurt, corresponding to Mary bringing forth her divine Child with virginity unstained ; and it was this that made the holly our Christmas bush, and gave it the west country name of "Aunt Mary's tree." Nor should we omit to notice that the same thought is connected with the pink hawthorn and the Glastonbury thorn (*Crataegus oxyacantha præcox*), the one being not only Christ's thorn, but also the burning bush ; and the abnormal flowering of the latter coming at the Incarnation tyde, thus again united this suggestive symbolism.

Sir John Maundeville, after the white thorn, mentions the "Barbarynes," the common barberry of our hedges and gardens, and of which the species *Berberis Crægina* is frequent in various parts of Palestine. In Italy, especially, it is called Spina santa or Spina Cristi, or, as in Piedmont, "Spin d'nostr Sgnour." Its thorns are set in threes ; the serratures of its leaves terminate with soft bristles ; its pendant clusters of golden flowers leave behind them bright red berries that are known in some places as the Madonna's Bitter Grape, as if connected with the chalice of woe she had to drain. And the third he speaks of is the "Eglantier," as the name occurs in Chaucer, our eglantine or sweetbrier (*Rosa rubiginosa*), the engelthierrose of parts of Germany, and the eglantyr, engeltorn of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

In the Lateran Museum there is an early Christian tomb upon which is sculptured a Roman soldier placing a crown of laurels and roses upon the head of our Lord, for with their joyousness in the new Faith the triumphant sentiment most prevailed, and the faithful did not like to dwell so much upon the human sufferings of the Saviour as upon the victory won and the fresh hopes rekindled ; and hence the Crown of Thorns became a Crown of Roses, as the Vesper hymn for the first Friday in Lent (Commemoration of the Crown of Thorn) sings :

" Christ : rubescens sanguine
Auleos mutat Rosis."

It is this pretty thought, no doubt, which was also in the mind with all the foregoing flowering trees, that, although bearing cruel spines, yet they burst into blossom wherever the sacred blood fell. In the barberry there would be seen the natural curiosity of the

thorns themselves passing into leaves, for if they be traced to their base in a young, vigorous shoot, it will be noticed that the transition is apparent, showing that they are but leaves in an "arrested" condition; in the sweetbrier, as in the pink hawthorn, there are the deep-red roses, with delicious fragrance, thickly beading the branches with their memorials of the Saviour's blood. The brier rose (*Rosa canina*) is also called the "Engelntier" in the "Nomenclator Latino-Saxonicus" of Chytraeus in 1582, and to it the same tradition is attached; and in its fragile beauty, blushing through every shade of carnation, it spoke to thoughtful minds how

"Men saw the Thorns on Jesus' brow,
But Angels saw the Roses."

The brier rose, together with many varieties of its family, is a native of Palestine, abounding around the Holy City; and it is worth noticing that in the passage in the Book of Kings where Rehoboam threatens to be more severe than his father, the word translated "scorpions" is said to be more correctly rendered by "briers," and Celsius quoted the Rabbins in favor of this being so. In that sense the symbolism would be very remarkable and typical that the words of the foolish son of Solomon should be visited by Jews, the only loyal tribe, upon the "Son of David," by binding His head with a brier band amid the assertive shouts that they had no king but Cæsar. The words of the Breviary hymn for the Friday in Lent commemorating this diadem of sorrow seem to have in mind some such thorn as the brier:

"Quæ terra sulcis invia,
Damis regens et sentibus,
Lugubre munus protalit,
Que sæva messuit manes?"

And the entire hymn, whose English translation begins:

"Daughters of Zion! Royal maids!
Come forth to see the Crown
Which Zion's self, with cruel hands,
Hath woven for her Son,"

seems full of the thoughts we have alluded to above in connection with the blossoming thorny rose.

We have thus exhausted the species of thorns mentioned by Sir John Maundeville and come to one omitted by him, unless we include it among his white thorns, and it is that which seems to possess the strongest evidence in its favor, if only one kind were

employed. St. Jerome, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, Dioscorides, Calmet, Lamy, Baronius, and a great number of other important authorities, all unite in thinking that the *Rhamnus* or buckthorn was that made use of, and the writers of modern times are generally agreed that it is the most probable. An examination has lately been made by botanical experts of some of the larger thorn relics preserved of the Crown. They are found to entirely confirm this opinion. At the Electoral Palace of Munich, in Bavaria, there is a spray with five spines; the Confraternity of Charity at Venice has another with four; the one at Trêves, presented by St. Helena herself, has more; the remains also at Pisa, and at Wevelgham, near Courtrai, have been all closely inspected, and have been declared to be a species of *Rhamnus*, or buckthorn. All the species of this thorn are closely allied, and are met with under the names of *Zizyphus* and *Paliurus*; they abound in Palestine; and an aged bush of this shrub is shown near the Holy City from which the Crown of our Blessed Lord was said to be taken. One species (*Rhamnus aculeatus*), of which Bellonius says "Christi Domini Corona confecta fuit," has very singular fruit, as if to recall this event, for it appears something like a head with a broad-trimmed covering or wreath. The *Paliurus Spinagtii* has many cruel, hard, sharp thorns, well adapted to give pain, and the branches are soft, round and pliable, and easily brought into any form required. It is one of the most common shrubs in Judea and Egypt, evergreen and hardy, about six feet high, and Harrelquist says that what to him seemed the strongest proof of its identity was that its leaves resembled the kind of bay with which emperors and generals were wont to be crowned. The enemies of Christ would desire to have this resemblance of a plant used in times of triumph and festivity to increase the scorn, calumny and reproach. Bartholinus says that he has heard the Arabs call it *Al hansegii*, which the Latins interpret the Thorn-Crown. In southern Italy and Spain, where the flora is nearly identical with that of the Holy Land east of its central partition, the *Rhamnus* has for centuries been known with this reference—in Italy as the Spino Crocefissi, in Spain as Espina de Cristo, Espinu santa and vera, in Portugal, Arvore de Espinhos de Cristo; and in other countries we find the same association; for instance: in Poland, Ciern Chrystusa; in Silesia, Christdorn; in Holland, Christdoorn, and in France, Epine de Christ. Old Gerard is led to call it the Christ's Thorn, or Jews' Thorn, on the authority of Petrus Bellonius, who, having travelled over the Holy Land, saith that this was the "shrubbe thorne Paliurus

wherewith they crowned our Saviour Christ. His reason for the proof hereof is this, that in Judæa there was not any thorn so common, so pliant, or so fit for to make a crown or garland of, nor any so full of cruel, sharp prickles. It groweth throughout the whole country in such abundance that it is their common fuel to burn; yea, so common with them there as our gorse, brakes, and broom is here with us. Josephus, in his first book of Antiquities, and eleventh chapter, saith that this thorn hath the most sharp prickles of any other, and, therefore, that Christ might be the more tormented, the Jews rather took this than any other." The tradition of the Buckthorn being the Spina Christi existed, however, long before the time of Bellonius, as the folk-lore names tend to prove; and Ruellius, in 1544, records the prevalent belief of the "Rhamus, Ramus et Virguerum Spinosum, quo Cristus pientiss. S. N. coronatus est."

In Germany the name has become attached to the *Rhamnus catharticus* more than to its kindred species, and this, perhaps, from some legend of the shrub having lost its spines and become endowed with qualities helpful to aid humanity after its contact with the suffering Son of man; for this species has no thorn, and the juice of its berries is sold under the name of syrup of buckthorn as a purgative. It grows in our hedges in England and flowers in May under the frequently-heard name of Christ's thorn; in Prussia it is Kreuzholz, in Silesia, Mecklenburg, and indeed most German states, Kreuzdorn; in Austria, Kreuzbeersbrauch; the same in Berne, and in Denmark Korsbaertorn. Another shrub of this family grows in the Jordan valley, as also in the East Indies, the drupes of whose plum-fruit are wholesome and excellent, and known as Jujubes; it is the *Zizyphus Jujuba* or *Rhamnus Nubica*, called Chinese Japonica by gardeners in Europe. Another N. African species yields the Lotus, from eating which the Lotophagi are said to have been named, and this is the *Zizyphus Lotus*.

The *Rhamnus* is thought by Kuhn and others to get its name of Buckthorn or Bocksdorn from having been used to burn the sacrificial buck-goat in heathen Teutonic days, and it is still used in the East to heat the sacrificial oven for the Jewish paschal feast. Hence, throughout Germany, it has also the name Jews' Thorn, or Judendorn and Judenbaum. It was also said to have been the bush in whose tangled meshes the ram was caught by Abraham on Mount Moriah, where the temple afterwards stood; and it is curious to note that it continued to be used at the Christian Pasch in early times, for Easter fire in Germany was anciently called

from it Bocksdorn, being kindled with the wood of the Rhamnus ; and to this day at Dassel, in Westphalia, they are said to continue the custom. St. Gregory of Nyssa applies the words of the Psalm lvii. 10 in the Vulgate to the Crown of Shame—" Priusquam intelligerent spinæ vestræ Rhamnum"—seeming to connect it with both associations. The city of Rheims is said to take its name from the Rhamnus, or Reim in Old French, two branches of which are crossed in the city arms, perhaps in memorial of some relic it once possessed of the Crown of Thorns, or the abundance of this shrub in its neighborhood. The *Zizyphus vulgaris* grows profusely about Paris, and is often to be met with in our English hedgerows, and it is not unlikely that once it was cultivated for pious memorial as well as for other uses, such as the Easter fire. In Sicily we find the name for it of Zaccati natalini, which would indicate that there it formed the Christmas fagot that burned on the hearth of every home in Europe, to be succeeded by the Yule log on the Holy Night, "to keep the divine infant from the cold," as they say in the Tyrol. The earliest parable recorded in the Bible is that addressed by Jotham to the Schechmites from the overhanging hillside of Gerizim, a spot where the prevalence of the olive tree clearly marks that tree for sovereignty ; next to the olive, the rarer but still commanding fig tree, or the trailing festoons of the vine, are most prominent ; each, however, refuses the kingship of the trees ; finally, " Dixerunt omnia ligna ad Rhamnum : Veni et impera supernos." They thus descended from the noble and useful trees to this worthless bush, whose only utility was to furnish their sacrificial ovens with fire ! There was, however, a symbolical sense in which mediæval observers of nature would apply these words, showing how the most humble of plants became indeed their king when it formed the diadem of the Saviour on the Cross, and thus gave a fresh application to its reply : " If, indeed, you mean to make me King, Come ye, and rest under my shadow : but if ye mean it not, let fire come out from the Rhamnus (bramble in trans.), and devour the cedars of Libanus." (Judg. ix.)

Although in every way the Rhamnus seems to be the more probable identification, still, in considering these sacred associations of plants with the Crown of our Lord, we must continue our mention of others which have been chosen for memorials of the same. The *Lycium Europæum* and *lanceolatum* or Box-thorns, which are found in southern Europe, are also to be found about Palestine, and often chosen by eastern Christians to weave into small wreaths in memory of the thorny crown. In Italy, in vari-

ous districts, this straggling thorn is known by various names in this connection, such as Spina da Corone de Crocifissi, Corone de Spine, Spino di Cristo, Tuchioda Cristi or Pruno di Macchio (Thorn of Shame), and in Sicily and Sardinia, etc., the same titles prevail. In Syria the *Ribes orientale* is common; it is one of the natural order to which our gooseberry and currants belong, and in northern Europe they have named the prickly stems of their gooseberry bushes in connection with the Passion; thus, in Sweden the *Ribes grossularia* is the Krusbär, the Krúsbaer of Denmark; in Flanders it is Kruisdorn, as it is in many parts of Germany. We find it Christdorn in Silesia, Christorenbeere in eastern Prussia, and Cordus gives the name of Herr Gottsbeer as prevalent in his time (sixteenth century). In Swabia it is Nonnenfürzl, from its presence in their culinary garden, and it seems to have been a popular monastic shrub, for such names as Cloisterberry, Klosterbeer and Uva de' Frati are often found for it. The derivation of gooseberry from gorseberry would seem very probable, as we hear it still called in Swabia Nuns' furze. The common Furze or Whin (*Ulex Europaeus*) has the same association in Denmark, where it is Kristi tvankrun, a thought which its harassing cruel spines might very well recall, and its lovely golden flower rejoices every British heath. The *Ulex provincialis* species is found in southern Europe, and may therefore exist in Palestine, but we cannot recall having seen it there.

Mrs. Jameson, speaking of the Crown of Thorns in her "History of Our Blessed Lord" (p. 85), says:

"This object, too, like all the various instruments of our Lord's sufferings, was viewed in the likeness of various types, accomplished, unconsciously, by the cruel ingenuity of His enemies. While thrust on His brows in mockery of a regal diadem, it denoted also the thorns and briars sown by the first Adam, and now forever blunted on the sacred head of the second Adam. Or, according to the beautiful idea of St. Ambrose, the thorns are the sinners of this world, thus woven into a trophy, and worn triumphant upon the bleeding brows of the Redeemer."

This connection between the Curse of the Crown, the Thistles and the Thorns, was not unnoticed among the men of old time as they passed along their country wastes, for to them type and anti-type were constantly familiar. Just as the pitiless *Carlina corymbosa* was Christ's Scourge in Spain and Provence, so another of that order, the *Carthamus lanatus*, was Espino de Cristo, while its red juice recalled the Sangre de Cristo, or, as in southern France, Le Troune de Nostre Segné. The Eryngiums, lovers of sandy soils, all rigid and spinous, had the same thoughts connected with them. Our Field Eryngo (*Eryngium campestre*), which in Russia

has the curious name of Adamova Golova, or Adam's Head, recalling the legend of Calvary's Rock in a double manner, has in Germany, Holland, Sweden and Belgium the name of the Cross Thistle ; and so, too, the species *E. maritimum*, whose dense blue terminal head of flower is common upon our sea-shores in August. Just as the Creeping Thistle (*C. arvensis*) is popularly known as the Thistle of the Curse, so the *Carduus benedictus* is everywhere called the Blessed Thistle, and in Germany the Thistle of the Cross, or *Tribulus Sanctæ Crucis*.

A singularly beautiful little emblem of the Crown of Thorns is to be found in the Medicagos we now call Calvary Clover. It comes from the Levant, and is probably to be found in the Holy Land. Like the Starry Trefoil (*Trifolium stellatum*) of our English commons, whose pale rose flowers are known in the Balearic Isles as Corona de Cristo, so the Medicagos have large globular seed-vessels, which uncoil into exquisite little memorials of this instrument in the Passion. Sown on Good Friday—that day so propitious for seed-planting in all old garden lore—it comes up on Low Sunday, and certain species produce leaves stained as if with blood. After flowering, seeds of a dark-red color are formed and found enclosed in a ball of the most delicate and lovely texture-work, and this can be uncoiled so as to make a little spinous girdle ready to be plaited into a circle of thorns. The *Medicago maculata*, *ciliaris*, *præcox* and *denticulata lappacea*, are all most suitably called Calvary Clovers, worthy of cultivating in this pious fashion ; but perhaps the best for choice may be the *Medicago echinusa* (not *tuberculata*).

Here we end the memorials with which we are acquainted, in nature, in connection with one incident in the Passion, and the extent to which it was recalled throughout Europe is as indicative of the piety of thought of mediæval times as are the remains they have left us in architecture and other forms of art. We will close with a pretty old doggerel charm used for extracting a thorn from the flesh, once frequently to be heard in old England, when faith-healing had not degenerated into imposture, and christened folk are not likely to deem the thought that it suggests as impotent to aid the sufferer. It ran :

" Happy man that Christ was born,
He was crowned with a thorn.
He was pierced through the skin,
For to let the poison in.
But His five wounds, they say,
Closed before He passed away.
In with healing, out with thorn,
Happy man that Christ was born."

It seems a peasant's practical application of the words of the concluding verse of the office hymn we have already referred to as that for the commemoration of Corona Spinarum :

"Culpis satæ mortalium
Te, Christe, spiræ vulnerant,
Evelle nostras, cordibus
Tuasque nostris insere."

ALFRED E. P. RAYMUND DOWLING, B.A., OXON.

THE LAST OF THE HURON MISSIONS.

FORT PONTCHARTRAIN was built and the colony of Detroit founded in 1701. The location selected by its founder was the north littoral of the strait, two miles below Isle aux Cochons, around which island the waters of Lake St. Clair circle and unite in a bay forming the head of the strait flowing into Lake Erie twenty miles below. The original colonists during the first decade located their farms above the post as far up as Lake St. Clair; these farms were nearly uniform in width, a few arpents only; but each had a water-front, and extended north three miles into the forest. By this wise arrangement each family had an abundant supply of fresh water for domestic use and for the livestock of the farm, besides communication by canoe during eight months of the year, and by the *carriole* and pony on the ice during the winter. Below the fort were located the Huron, the Miami and the Pottawotomi Indian villages. A few farms had been located between the fort and the Huron village.

No attention seems to have been given during the first decade to the colonization of the south littoral opposite Fort Pontchartrain, whose stockade inclosure had in the meantime afforded shelter to the colonists against hostile Indian marauders.

Later arrivals of colonists, however, who had been encouraged to settle at the post, finding the water-front of the north littoral solidly occupied, located farms on the south littoral with similar advantages.

Thus it came about that, near the end of the third decade

of the eighteenth century, on the north and south sides of the strait, which was about half a mile wide in the vicinity of the fort, were French colonists united to a great extent by kindred ties, who were solidly Catholic, who attended divine service and accomplished their religious obligations at Ste. Anne's, near the fort, which had been served by Recollet Fathers, and which was the mother Church of the West and North-west.

As we have stated, the Hurons had their village about a mile below the fort. It was well defended by a surrounding stockade, besides a strong fort with bastions inclosing a council-house and a granary.

The Hurons were good hunters, leading sober lives ; and, according to a report to the Government, they were well clad, and lived comfortably in commodious homes. The same report states that they were good farmers, raising more grain and vegetables than they needed, while their surplus was bartered to advantage at the store-house of the post. But they at all times had in the granary of their fort a supply of grain sufficient to provide for any possible emergency.¹

They lived under a tribal system similar to and as ancient as that of their kindred, the tribes of the Iroquoian Confederacy.

Their chief sachem, Sas-ta-ret-sa, who was a sincere Christian, occupied one of the best houses on the strait, which had been built for him by direction of the Marquis de Vandreuil, Governor-General of New France.²

When Father Charlevoix visited Detroit in 1721 he remained at the post several weeks, the guest of Father Delino, Recollet pastor of Ste. Anne's. He was naturally attracted to the Huron village, whose people were descendants of the tribes of Huronia, who, during the previous century, had been won from Paganism by missionaries of his order, and subsequently driven from their homes by an invading army of Iroquoian warriors.

His knowledge of the Iroquoian language, which to some extent was spoken by the Hurons, enabled him to mingle with their people and converse with their chiefs.

Sas-ta-ret-sa had passed to eternity, while some of the old chiefs had a faint traditional knowledge of Christianity remaining. The generality, however, although not Pagans, followed their tribal laws and customs.

¹ This report was made in 1718. See N. Y. Col. Doc. 9.

² This house was built by the Chevalier Cadillac. In modern times it had become the home of Governor Cass; it was subsequently moved and taken down in 1890. It might have lasted for another century.

No Jesuit could look with indifference upon the Huron people, who were among the *élite* of the Indians of North America. Father Charlevoix became deeply solicitous for their spiritual regeneration; before leaving Detroit he informed the chief sachem that he would, on his return to Quebec, endeavor to have a missionary sent to their canton. He explained the situation to the Father Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, who promised to send a missionary to the Hurons at Detroit as soon as one suitable would be available.

But most of the Iroquoian missionaries, who were familiar with the language of the Hurons, were incapacitated by age and infirmity for active work. Some years elapsed before the promise made by Father Superior Du Park could be fulfilled.

In 1728 Father Armand de La Richardie, S.J., was appointed missionary to the Hurons at the post of Detroit, and he reached the scene of his spiritual labors early in the summer of that year. We are indebted to Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J., archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, for such authentic information as will enable us to publish for the first time, probably, in the English language, an outline of the career of one of the most learned and distinguished of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the old régime, who became the founder of one of the most remarkable and successful missionary establishments in North America during the eighteenth century.

Father de La Richardie was born in the diocese of Périgueux, France, June 7, 1686. This would give his age at 42 years when he came to Detroit.

"He was," says Father Jones, "of a distinguished family, uncle of Monseigneur de la Cropte de Bourzeque, Bishop of Noyon, a count and peer of France, when Church and State existed harmoniously side by side. The Bishop of Noyon was a zealous prelate and friend of the members of the Society of Jesus."

Armand de La Richardie entered the society October 21, 1703, and took his first vows at Limoges, October 25, 1705. He made the solemn profession of the four vows February 2, 1721.

He arrived at Quebec in 1725, and spent the two following years at the Huron village of Lorette, near Quebec, where he acquired a knowledge of the Huron dialect under direction of Father Richer, S.J. When Father de La Richardie arrived at Detroit he found the Recollets of Ste. Anne in pastoral jurisdiction over the habitants on both littorals of the strait. To avoid possible complications in the future as to his jurisdiction as a missionary, he wrote to Father Superior Du Park, and through him ob-

tained pastoral control over the habitants on the south littoral, on which side he intended to establish his mission.

The location selected was the Point de Montreal, nearly opposite Fort Pontchartrain, where a crescent bay, whose gravelly shore touched the channel, gave easy access to canoes and larger boats.¹ This locality is now known as Sandwich, in the Province of Ontario, Canada.

About 300 feet above the shore, and overlooking the strait, *La Mission des Hurons du Detroit* was commenced by the building of a mission-house 30 by 45 feet.

The mission-church was then built of hewed upright timber. It was "70 cubits long."² The church was well inclosed and roofed with boards.

This church was probably dedicated on the festival of the Assumption, 1729. Its successor, built 122 years later, bears this name, as does the parish.

The funds requisite for the establishment of the Huron mission were supplied by the Government of France.³ Father de La Richardie outlined his preliminary work in a letter to the Father Superior, which, translated from the Latin text, is as follows :

"On my arrival I did not find a single Huron who professed the Christian faith, though some of the old people had been baptized during sickness by the missionaries before the tribes had removed from their former homes. One of the principal chiefs, Ho-a-is-ens, after being instructed was baptized; his example so influenced the people of his tribe that not a single soul among them resisted the grace of the Holy Spirit. The death of this chief soon after deprived me of his great influence over the people of the other tribes, and I became greatly discouraged.

"While in this state of mind the merciful intervention of the Saviour induced the Hurons of both sexes to come cheerfully to the open-air instructions which I preached.

"With God's assisting grace the good work succeeded so well that within three years from the death of Ho-a-is-ens not a single soul in the Huron village (at Detroit) remained unconverted."⁴

After the mission-house and church had been completed, a *forge* was built near the crescent bay, stocked with material, and placed in charge of an armorer for the convenience of the mission, of the habitants, and of the Indians.

After seven years of apostolic labor, Father de La Richardie sought the enjoyment of community life at the College of Quebec,

¹ This selection was in accord with the usual good judgment of the Jesuit Fathers, who located their missionary centres with reference to sanitary, to strategic, and to accessible advantages, and rarely without attractive surroundings.

² Letter of Father de La Richardie to the Father Superior at Quebec.

³ Manuscript document in the Archiepiscopal archives, Quebec.

⁴ Manuscript letter dated June 21, 1741. For the copy, we are indebted to Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J.

where he spent the winter of 1735-36. His sojourn at the college was not altogether recreative. Father Luc-François Nau, S.J., wrote to Father Bonin, S.J., from Sault St. Louis (near Montreal), October 2, 1736: "Le Père de la Richardie a passé l'hiver à Quebec, où il a fait des biens infinis par le moyen des deux retraites publiques qu'il a données."¹ Before his return to Detroit he completed an important arrangement, which had for its object the attraction to his mission, for permanent settlement, of the Huron tribes domiciled at Detroit, on Bois Blanc Island, at the end of the strait near Lake Erie, and at Sandusky. He had already established a sub-mission on Bois Blanc, where he had also in operation *la ferme de la mission*, which was well stocked, having a resident farmer, the annual products of which amply sufficed for the requirements of his missionary establishments.

This arrangement, as far as we know, comprised the establishment of what was unique in missionary work in North America; it was the establishment of a *mission store-house*, on a basis more extensive than that of any existing trading-concern at the post of Detroit, where the Indian could dispose of the products of his hunting-seasons on an honest basis of barter, while he was protected from the fraudulent and to some extent inhuman practices of the local traders, who generally first made the Indian drunk, and then obtained his furs without fair consideration in exchange, principally for *eau de vie*, which, instead of necessary articles, he brought to his home, thereby entailing much misery to his family. Father de La Richardie understood the situation; his intentions, while beneficent, were profoundly politic. He appointed Monsieur Rene de Couagne, a wealthy merchant of Montreal, factor of the intended mercantile establishment of *La Mission des Hurons du Detroit*. Placing in his hands the requisite funds, he authorized the shipment to the mission of the stock of goods which the merchant should deem suitable for such an establishment. After obtaining the services of Lay Brother La Tour to take charge of the mission-store, he returned to Detroit. We have said that Father de La Richardie understood the situation. He had the welfare of his Huron constituents at heart.

At this time the prices paid for furs by the leading English traders in barter were much higher than those of the French traders, while the barter-value fixed by the former on blankets,

¹ Father Nau adds: "Le Détroit est le plus beau pays du Canada. Il n'a presque pas d'hiver. Toutes sortes de fruits y viennent aussi bons qu'en France." A transcript of this correspondence has been kindly furnished us by Father Jones, S.J., Montreal.

on powder, on lead, on vermillion, on cutlery, arms, cotton and trinkets, was much lower than that demanded by the latter.¹ It was advantageous to the Huron hunter to dispose of his packs of furs to the English traders, but to do this required a journey through territory inhabited by the enemies of his race, with the possibility that he would never return to his home.

It will be seen that the design of Father de La Richardie was based on wise and beneficent considerations. Under his able direction the mercantile annex of his missionary fabric became the most important of its kind on the strait; it proved of great importance to the welfare of the Indian and his family, as well as to the habitants and officials on both littorals.

It was controlled by Lay Brother La Tour, and conducted on strict business rules, while its able factor at Montreal contributed largely to its commercial success. It should not be inferred, however, that Father de La Richardie took any part in the operations of the mission-store; Brother La Tour and his assistant, Regis, did the work of the store, while the former supervised the business of the forge and the management of the mission-farm on Bois Blanc, while neither officiated in the church. There was a Lay Brother, with an assistant, for the church and presbytery.

In 1743 the mission-house was enlarged by an addition of 60 feet front on the west, by 45 feet deep—making a building 90 by 45.

The accounts of the mission show that Pierre Meloche was contractor for the wood-work, and Nicolas-François Janis for the mason work. Alterations were made in the interior of the church during the same year; besides, out-buildings were constructed; the total outlay exceeding 6,000 livres, all of which was paid and the mission was placed entirely free from debt.²

The west 60 feet was used for the mission-store, while all the east 30 feet was reserved for the presbytery, in which lived the missionary and his male household.³

In 1743 Father Pierre Potier, S.J., arrived at Quebec from

¹ New York Col. Doc. 9, 892.

² *Livre de Compte.* Potier MS.

³ Probably the best illustration of the mission-house as enlarged in 1743, which was first occupied by Father de La Richardie, and subsequently by his successor, Father Pierre Potier, S.J., until the accidental death of the latter, in 1781, is to be found in *Memorials of Half a Century*, by the late Bela Hubbard, of Detroit.

We saw this ancient landmark of Catholic missionary work in 1891. The building was still entire, with massive stone chimneys and dormer windows; it had been standing 143 years. In recent years the original 30 feet, built in 1728, was taken down. The remaining 60 feet front is still extant, and likely to remain on its solid foundation during a century or more. It is occupied as a dwelling, and surrounded by a garden and orchard.

France, a volunteer for Indian missionary work ; he was then in his 34th year. He was sent to the Huron village at Lorette, where he soon acquired a practical knowledge of the Huron dialect, and in the following year he was sent to assist Father de La Richardie, who was overburdened with work. Father Potier was assigned the care of the sub-mission on Bois Blanc Island, where he perfected his knowledge of the Huron language. On March 26, 1746, occurred the first serious menace to the health of the Superior of the mission ; he experienced an attack of paralysis, which, although not of a severe nature, he was induced to recreate for a time at the College of Quebec. He departed by the spring convoy, leaving Father Potier in charge.

The latter records, in the *Livre de Comte*, the instructions of Father de La Richardie, which, translated, reads :

"Prayers shall be daily offered in the church for the safe return of the Father Superior during his absence. The new church is to be of the same width, but 16 feet longer than the old edifice. The sacristy is to be of wood, and 16 feet square ; a new refectory and servants' room to be built by the side of the old refectory. The kitchen is to be enlarged by using a part of the old refectory. The church is to have a new bell, similar to that in the fort at Detroit."

Directions follow as to frame-work by M. Meloche and mason-work by M. Janis, and the prices to be paid. Memorandums were also left as to the farm and the forge.

In the meantime the Huron canton and fort below Fort Pontchartrain had been abandoned ; the tribes crossed the strait and built a new village, fort and council-house on the prairie west of the mission. Thus, after seventeen years, the design of Father de La Richardie to concentrate these and other tribes at the Point de Montreal was to a considerable extent accomplished.

The status of the mission, in connection with these instructions of the Father Superior, may be stated as follows : The church and presbytery ; the mission-store, which was one of the most extensive mercantile concerns, if not the largest, on the strait ; the farms, farm-houses, the live-stock, the out-buildings and the forge, all well equipped ; while the entire establishment was free from debt.

So far as the Huron tribes in the vicinity were interested, their people had not enjoyed such agreeable surroundings since their forefathers had been driven from the Christian fabric which had been reared in their ancient homes in Huronia. Father de La Richardie returned the following year, and during his absence the improvements he had directed had been finished and paid for.

Father Potier made this entry :

"Charles Parant, 'the carpenter,' has been paid for all the work completed in the church and for the work he is yet to finish, which includes an altar-railing corresponding with the plan sketched by him on the confessional; one closet for the antependiums of the altar, and one for altar-linens, albs, surplices and ornaments; both of which are to be built in the vestry. Finally, if deemed advisable, he is to build two chapels (in alcoves), price to be agreed upon."¹

It is evident from this entry that the mission-church was well provided; the fact that the *pain benit* was distributed on Sundays and festivals indicates that the two Jesuit Fathers conducted the religious ceremonies in accordance with the regulations prescribed.

While the majority of the congregation were red-skinned Hurons, the French race were always present. To the former the ceremonials were edifying, while to the latter they revived memories essentially Catholic, and dear to their feelings as well as to their fervent faith.

While Fathers de La Richardie and Potier wore the brevet of the Companions of the Society of Jesus, attainable only after passing the probationary ordeal of the rule of their order, they essentially differed in temperament. Father de La Richardie was a fine scholar, a wise administrator, reserved in manner, and very pious; Father Potier was perhaps not as profound as his *confrère*, but the bibliographical manuscripts he left indicate considerable ability. He was over six feet and of slender frame; his great wit, which his personal diary indicates, must have made him the solace of his austere Superior, while it cheered the solitary existence of both.

The *Livre de Compte* of the mission shows that the establishment was more than self-supporting.²

A surplus of grain was harvested on the mission farm; more than necessary was the supply of meat, dairy products and vegetables from the same source.

¹ *Livre de Compte*, etc. Potier MS. While M. Meloche constructed the framework, it is evident that Charles Parant did the finer work in the church.

² The following memorandum, written in the account-book of the mission in reference to "*la ferme*," is introduced in evidence of the self-sustaining status of the establishment; it is by Father de La Richardie. Translated it reads:

"The farm is to be worked on shares. The increase in live-stock will also be equally divided, and the use of the cattle given to the mission when needed.

"The farmer shall haul from 40 to 50 cords of wood each winter for the use of the mission and dependencies, and furnish suet and lard to the extent of 200 pounds weight. The following live-stock is to be furnished the farmer in addition to that on hand: 3 cows, 1 heifer, 2 oxen and 2 mares. Besides the farm-stock, the mission owns, on separate account for breeding purposes, 'Major' and 'White Back,' and 'Souris,' a mare. The farmer shall be given 45 fowls, from which he shall furnish each year an equal number of chickens for the table and 45 dozen eggs."

The bread for daily use was baked from flour supplied; which, with the laundry-work of the mission, was contracted for from year to year.¹

In the meantime the health of Father de La Richardie had become so impaired that he retired to Quebec, and Father Potier became Superior of the mission.²

War now prevailed in the East. The New England Puritans and most of the people of the Colonies disliked the French settlers on the St. Lawrence on account of their religion.

A colonial war was provoked, which finally became a national contest between England and France for supremacy.

During this war the Indian tribes on the strait sided with their French friends, and many war-parties were organized and took the trail for Canada. French officers came to Fort Pontchartrain and recruited the flower of the habitant youth, who were formed into companies and sent by way of Lake Erie to Montreal. Among the deplorable results of this unfortunate contest affecting Detroit may be included the loss of the best hunters of the Huron, the Miami, the Ottawa and the Pottawotomi nations, who had their homes in the vicinity of the post. The young Indian hunters could not resist the attractions of the war-path. The economic results were soon severely felt in the Indian's household and in the community, which depended so largely upon the fur trade for business and support. The Indian no longer went to the hunting-field, for he was on the war-path in Canada, and there were no packs for the trader to barter for; this prolific source of trade was suspended.

The situation of the habitants became deplorable. Their robust sons had volunteered for the war and were fighting in Canada;

¹ The cost of baking and of the laundry-work was 100 livres per year.

² In the records of the Hotel Dieu, of Quebec, of the year 1758, the soul of Father de La Richardie having passed to eternity in the latter part of March of that year, is the following Capitular *Æt.*, transcribed for us by the Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J.:

"Le 28 Mars, 1758, notre communauté capitulairement assemblée, notre Révérend Mère, Marie André Duplessis, de Ste. Hélène, Supérieure, qui avait remarqué beaucoup d' empressement dans toutes les Religeuses de cette maison pour donnée au feu R'd. P. Armand de La Richardie, de la Compagnie de Jésus, mort le 17 de ce mois, des marques publiques de reconnaissance, nous proposa de lui faire un service solennel, ayant déjà pour cela l'agrément de Monseigneur notre Évêque. Toutes y consentirent tres volontiers, se souvenant avec gratitude de la charité que ce Rev'd Père eut pour nous après l'incendie de notre maison. Il était pour lors Vice Supérieur du Collège de Quebec, il nous fit fournir abondamment de pain, de viande et autres nécessités, même pour nos domestiques, et depuis ce temps étant notre confesseur jusqu' à sa dernière maladie, il nous a visité pendant une mortalité qui nous a fait perdre dix religieuse en moins de quatre mois, venant toutes ces jours les consoler plutot deux fois qu'une."

Thus ended the saintly career of the venerable founder of the Huron Mission of Detroit, in his seventy-third year. All we have stated of the history of this distinguished missionary has been drawn from authentic records.

their strong arms were no longer available for the cultivation of the soil ; agriculture languished ; while their family circles were saddened by the absence of cherished ones, and their maidens who pined for lovers they might never behold again.

To add to these misfortunes, the successive failures of crops on both littorals of the straits caused a scarcity of cereals, while the price of grain advanced to three times its normal value.

The Hurons on Bois Blanc Island had become so restive that the sub-mission could no longer be continued, while *la ferme de la mission* on the island had to be abandoned. Its live-stock, seed and implements were transferred to the ten or more acres of cultivable land which had been inclosed in the vicinity of the mission near the Point de Montreal, which thereafter became the mission-farm. In a few years it became unsafe for the semi-annual convoys to traverse Lake Erie, and commercial intercourse by way of the Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River, between Detroit and Montreal, had to be resumed. The business at the store-house of the mission declined from the causes stated ; shipments from and to Montreal became of small account.

The transfer from French to British rule on the north and south littorals of the Detroit had no serious effects on the habitants, who probably were guided by the advice of Father Bocquet on the north and of Father Potier on the south. But in many homes there was mourning for sons whose lifeless forms lay unrecognized under the soil of the Plains of Abraham, and of other battlefields in far distant Canada. The burden of grief, however, fell upon the mothers, whose religion became their consolation. The records of Ste. Anne and of the Assumption show, by the many votive masses provided for, the aid invoked through this medium for the souls of the cherished ones.¹

¹ The following entry in the *Livre de Compte*, in the handwriting of Father Potier, shows the number of masses provided for. Translated it reads :

"The following named persons are indebted to this mission for masses offered during the winter for their intentions," viz. :

Surgeon Chapoton of the fort,	.	.	.	.	.	.	18 livres.
" Père Bon " of Ste. Anne's,	.	.	.	.	.	.	50 "
" Big " Pilette,	.	.	.	.	.	.	35 "
François Des Ruisseaux,	.	.	.	.	.	.	28 "
Madam Gervais,	.	.	.	.	.	.	19 "
The late Jacques Campeau,	.	.	.	.	.	.	10 "
Charles Chesne,	.	.	.	.	.	.	9 "
Madam Belleperche,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 "
Madam Catin,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 "
Maurice St. Louis,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 "
Jean Baptiste Campeau and wife,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 "
Madam Montmirel and Pierre Perthuis,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 "

While the habitants soon recovered their wonted cheerfulness and continued their agricultural pursuits, the demoralizing effects of war had so unsettled the people of the four Indian nations in the vicinity of Detroit that their condition became a menace to British tranquillity. The French had capitulated, but the Indian nations had not made peace; a serious cause of offence would have aroused the Indian population to unite in retaliation, which might result in a general Indian war against British rule in the West.

So alarming was the situation on this frontier that Sir William Johnson, the "Irish Mohawk chief," who at the time was British Commissioner of Indian Affairs, came to Detroit early in September, 1761. He was escorted by a company of the Royal American regiment, and brought with him from Niagara a large fleet of bateaux laden with provisions and Indian goods intended for presents.

The baronet was a colonel in the British army, and major-general in the Colonial forces. The purpose of his visit was to treat with the Indian nations on the frontier, and by treaties bring them under British rule. In Indian diplomacy Sir William had no equal in North America; he remained at Detroit two weeks, and finally negotiated a treaty with the four nations at the post—with the Ohio Delawares, the Shawnees, the Senecas, and the Upper Lake Chippewas.

His distribution of presents was extensive. The harmonious result of his diplomacy may have been agreeable, but we believe he was too sagacious to put entire faith in the sincerity of the newly acquired Indian subjects of the British crown.

During the visit of the baronet he entertained the French residents at dinners and balls; twice he had Fathers Bocquet and Potier to dine at his quarters; his demeanor toward the conquered race was characteristic of the chivalrous soldier and the Irish gentleman, and doubtless had the effect of securing their friendly course during the ensuing sanguinary Indian war.¹ His last visit of ceremony was made to Father Potier after he had visited the Huron canton on the evening of his departure, September 17, 1761. The missionary entertained him at supper, at which were present several prominent French residents.²

"Père Bon," of Ste. Anne's, was the name given Father Bonaventure Carpentier, who, having more masses than he could perform, had fifty offered by Father Potier, as stated.

¹ Colonel Duquesne and Major La Motte, French officers, who had surrendered their swords to the baronet when he captured Fort Niagara, were residing at the post at the time of this visit; both gentlemen were courteously invited to all entertainments given by him.

² The detailed history of the visit is quite interesting. It will be found in the appendix of the *Life of Sir William Johnson*, by W. L. Stone.

Meanwhile some light is shed upon the pastoral work of Father Potier during the preceding years. "I have," wrote Dr. Shea in his letter to us dated July 11, 1883, "a curious list, in the handwriting of the Rev. Father Potier, S.J., of those who made their Easter communion in 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760. There were eighty names given in 1759, which was not bad for the population at that time. His list for 1760 is short; he got four or five names down, and then wound up with "*et igitdem qui annis superioribus.*" There were no "backsliders." Many of these names, Dr. Shea remarks, seem to be of Detroit families—Campau, Clairmont, De Quindre, Godefroy, Le Beau, Le Vert, and others.¹

"The Conspiracy of Pontiac" seriously menaced the tenure of British control over all the territory west of the Ohio, and from Niagara over the lake regions as far west and north as the head waters of Lake Superior. The focus of Pontiac's intrigue was at the Ottawa castle, two miles above the Huron missionary establishment. The great conspirator had won to his project the tribes of his own, as well as those of the Huron, the Miami, and the Pottawatomi nations at Detroit. The local history of the conspiracy, its relation to the habitants, but more especially to Father Potier, is of interest.

The *chantier* and mills of Pierre Meloche adjoined the Ottawa canton on the east; his home, as well as that of his relative, Charles Parant, was directly across the strait. These gentlemen had enjoyed the esteem and friendship of Fathers de La Richardie and Potier, and had mainly constructed the church and adjacent buildings of the missionary establishment. Both were friends of Pontiac, while M. Meloche, especially, was as intimate as any Christian could have been with such a peculiar character as was the Ottawa chieftain.

Parkman, in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac," fairly illustrates the magical influence of the Ottawa conspirator over so many Indian tribes. This writer describes the massacre of the garrisons of Forts Le Boeuf, Miami, Michilimacinac, Presque Isle, Sandusky, St. Joseph, and Venango, at a preconcerted time, accompanied as each tragedy was by lamentable slaughter. He writes a vivid description of the failure of the Ohio Delawares to surprise Fort Pitt, and of the repulse of the Senecas when they assailed Fort Niagara.

¹ This list of Father Potier was probably among the papers of the mission sequestered by the commandant at Detroit in 1781.

The two latter forts were in their respective localities the strong-holds of British supremacy, and more or less essential, but not entirely so, to the consummation of Pontiac's design. This included the capture of the fort at Detroit, which, if captured, would have given him control over the lake regions westward of Niagara. This was to have been the masterpiece of his bloody work ; its consummation he reserved for himself. His plan to surprise the fort and massacre its garrison was ingenious ; it would have succeeded had not Major Gladwin, who was in command, been warned on the eve of its execution, and foiled his wily enemy. As to who or by whose direction the disclosure was made to Major Gladwin has been, and we believe will ever remain, an unsolved historical enigma. In vain has Mr. Parkman sought for authentic evidence to establish the truth, both in America and in Europe ; he acknowledges his failure, and he was compelled to give his readers the traditional story of the disclosure current, and generally believed on the strait, that Major Gladwin was warned at the opportune time by a young Chippewa woman who had made him a pair of moccasins which she brought to his quarters, and, after being liberally paid by the officer, unburdened her conscience of the terrible secret she possessed and disclosed the plot.

This is simply the outline of a story which has formed the subject of the novelist and of the dramatist, and which has inspired Stanley, probably the greatest painter of American Indianology, to immortalize a scene in Western history by his painting of the interview of the Chippewa girl with Major Gladwin.

But romance, however agreeable to the imagination, cannot be accepted as history.

Mr. Parkman, who had devoted much of his life to the study of Indian character, could not accept the tradition as genuine because of the natural improbability upon its face. The Indian woman at that period, as he well new, because of her inferior social position, did not share the confidence of her husband or master ; she was the drudge, if not the slave, in the Pagan lodge ; but whether wife, mistress, or daughter, she was considered beneath the consideration of the lord and master of the Indian home.

Others, familiar with the social status of the Pagan Indian's household at the time, who have become interested in the solution of this historical enigma, assert that it was improbable that an Indian woman, but more especially a Chippewa, could have acquired a knowledge of the plans of the Ottawa chief, so carefully had they been guarded even from his most intimate associates ; moreover, they claim that such a breach of Indian custom was as un-

likely then as would be, in our own times, the disclosure by a Free Mason "in good standing" of the secret of his lodge to his wife or daughter.

Mr. Parkman and other historians who have studied the history of the events on this frontier at this period apparently had but little knowledge of the position occupied during those exciting times by Father Potier, in his relations with the Hurons and other Indian tribes in the vicinity of his mission, nor were they probably aware of the intimate business relations existing between himself and Pierre Meloche, the near neighbor and confidential friend of Pontiac.

We believe that Father Potier learned directly or indirectly from Pierre Meloche of the intended *coup* against the fort, and unraveled its details.

Pontiac's plan for the capture of the fort shows strategic ability. Athletic games of the Indians on both sides of the strait were of common occurrence; they were always exciting; tribe was matched against tribe, while the games were witnessed by large numbers of interested Indian spectators, and betting on the result was the rule. The field in front of the fort had been the scene of many well-played games of ball by the Indians, with the officers and soldiers generally as spectators. Pontiac arranged a game of ball to be played near the stockade, and on the appointed day a large number of his warriors were to assemble as spectators; they were to wear their blankets, under the folds of which were to be concealed their rifles, whose barrels would be *sawed off*, and other weapons.¹ The athletes who were to play would be naked, as usual, except their breech-cloth, in which would be concealed their knives.

During the course of the game the ball was to be thrown over the stockade, and the players would be permitted to follow it through the small door near the gates. Once inside the inclosure the athletes were to kill the sentries and open the gates, through which Pontiac and his warriors would enter and commence the slaughter of the unsuspecting garrison.

While this game was being played, the officers and soldiers were not among the spectators as usual; the ball was tossed over the stockade, and after it rushed the athletes through the small door; finding no sentries they opened the gates, through which Pontiac led his warriors on the run; but he found the garrison under arms

¹ The grandfather of the late Colonel Beaufait, whose farm was on the river road east of the fort, told his grandson that he stood at his gate when Pontiac led his warriors in Indian file toward the fort. As the last of the warriors, who was known to M. Beaufait, passed, he lifted his blanket and disclosed the shortened rifle.

as if on parade, the artillery ranged in line, with a gunner at each piece holding a lighted match, and Major Gladwin, with his staff, in full uniform. When Pontiac and his Indians entered the drums were beat, the officers drew their swords, and the soldiers brought their muskets to aim. Pontiac saw he had been betrayed, and he knew that at a single word from the commandant he and his warriors would meet instant death. At a signal the Indians stood in the esplanade, while their leader approached Major Gladwin, and, addressing the latter's interpreter, asked the meaning of such an unusual parade. "Tell him to get out of the fort, with his Indians, immediately, or I shall order my soldiers to kill every one of them," was the response of the commandant. Pontiac led his force without further parley through the gates, and retired beyond the range of fire.

These are the bare facts of the *denouement* of the last of the series of the Ottawa chief's combinations.

How might Father Potier have obtained knowledge of the chief's plan? The scope of the latter's conspiracy was of wide extent. The adhesion of each Indian nation had to be obtained through diplomatic envoys accredited with war-belts of wampum to the sachems; councils had to be convened, to whose directors other war-belts were to be delivered by the envoys; Indian statecraft exhausted much time before important conclusions were reached. We estimate the time required for the perfection of his plans by the conspiring chief to have exceeded two years. This involved expense, the principal item of which was for the black wampum-beads composing the war-belts, without which no Indian diplomacy could proceed.

Such a large supply of wampum-beads at the time could be obtained only at the store-house of the Huron Mission, and the sale of such an unusual quantity could not have passed unnoticed by Lay Brother La Tour. Ammunition was also needed by the four nations at Detroit; to secure a large supply, recourse must be had to the mission store-house. To saw off the barrels of the rifles of Pontiac's warriors required the use of fine tempered steel files; these could not be obtained on either side of the strait except at the mission store-house. There is proof of this in the transactions detailed in the *Livre de Compte*. But from whom and by whose direction did the timely warning come to Major Gladwin?

Father Potier had been the honored guest on many occasions at the table of the commandant. How could his generous soul contemplate without horror the intended massacre of his chivalric host, of the young officers whose society he had enjoyed so often,

of the soldiers, and of the women and children domiciled within the inclosure of the fort?

And yet he knew that the consummation of the chief's bloody design would in all probability have suspended British control for a long time over all the lake region west of Niagara.

From a careful study of the antecedent circumstances, we venture to claim that the intended massacre was averted by the timely interference of Father Pierre Potier, S.J., Superior of *La Mission des Hurons du Detroit*, and that Major Gladwin was bound by a solemn promise on his honor never to reveal the secret of his deliverance from the impending massacre.

We might claim, further, that this promise was considered so sacred that no documentary evidence in connection, as we have stated, could be found after the most diligent search in the archives of America or at London. The medium Father Potier selected to make the disclosure on the eve of the day appointed for the consummation of the plot was not the Indian woman described in the romantic legend. Indications developed in later years point to the selection of the pretty daughter of Madam Cuillerier, a prominent member of the Huron Church of the Assumption, who, with her husband, is frequently mentioned in the transactions at the mission-store by Father Potier in his *Livre de Compte*.¹

Among the manuscripts of Father Potier in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, probably one of the most curious and interesting is that containing the personal diary of the missionary. It was shown to us by the archivist, Father Jones, S.J., in 1891. It is a well-bound and well-preserved duodecimo of 185 pages, every one of which is closely filled with the minute and beautiful handwriting of its venerable author. In it is his personal history in Europe, an itinerary of his journey to Quebec and thence to Detroit, with a diary of events as they occurred at the mission; curious, droll and piquant as to the events, and more so as to the *dramatis personæ*.²

¹ Clarence M. Burton, of Detroit, has discovered in the Canadian archives at Ottawa a petition to Governor-General Carleton from Mrs. Sterling, formerly Miss Cuillerier, claiming a pension for the important service she rendered during the Pontiac period at Detroit. Mr. Burton believes this lady, as we have claimed, disclosed the plot to Major Gladwin.

² A rare chapter in this diary is the directory of resident Frenchmen on both littorals of the strait, colonists, traders, and officials; it is in three columns—the French names, the translation in Huron, and the Huron nicknames given to each white man, no matter what his position or rank may have been, which, when once applied, became identical with the individual among the Hurons for life.

Some physical peculiarity or defect, the color of the hair, prominent teeth, a large nose, the loss of an eye, a florid complexion, tall or short stature, formed, as the case

But the pages of the diary in which would be noted the events as they occurred during the years 1762, 1763 and 1764 had been removed by Father Potier, probably from prudential motives, and destroyed. The French in this locality after Pontiac's time had a lively fear of the arbitrary power wielded by the commandant of the post of Detroit; he was the law in person and the supreme ruler. Father Potier was too shrewd to leave among his papers any compromising evidence against his friends Pierre Meloche and Charles Parant in connection with the designs of Pontiac. On this account, in our estimation, the historic leaves which would have shed light upon the betrayal of Pontiac's plot were suppressed. After the chief had been driven out of the fort he returned to his castle, and soon after united the warriors of the four Indian nations in an attempt to cut off the supplies of the garrison, to which he laid siege. The arrival by water of troops and supplies saved the fort.

Then followed the sortie to surprise the camp of the chief and the bloody ambuscade by the latter on the bridge over Parant's River, where, in the darkness of early morning, the attacking party were routed with great slaughter; the final discomfiture of Pontiac; the dispersion of the Ottawas after they had destroyed their fort and canton on the south littoral, and finally the retirement of their great leader, with some of his chiefs, to Southern Illinois. During the ensuing decade the three Indian nations remaining recuperated from the demoralizing consequences of war, while a new generation of stalwarts replaced its victims.

The lodges in the Huron village had increased in number, while the warriors had resumed their expeditions to their hunting-fields, returning each season with their packs of furs as regularly as the farmers harvested their grain. What remained of the

might be, a descriptive, long syllabic and distinctly pronounced nickname, curiously illustrating the simple construction of the Iroquoian language in the expression of matters relating to every-day life.

Belleperche, a prominent habitant, who had large front teeth, was known among the Indians as "Big Teeth." Douaire de Bondie, a nobleman at the post, had a prominent nose; his nickname was "Long Nose," by which he was designated among the people of the tribes. Father Jones, custodian of this relic, describes Father Potier as a great humorist; the highest dignitaries of Church and State did not escape his wit. In his correspondence he refers to the venerable Bishop of Quebec, who came to Detroit in 1755 to dedicate the third Church of Ste. Anne, as Monseigneur Mitasse; the latter word meant the long red leggings worn by the habitants in winter, which was used to designate the purple hose of the bishop. In this diary is a census of the Hurons and the Ottawas, and the names of their respective chiefs and fighting strength. The names of the articles mostly used in barter are given in Huron. But there are so many droll passages written in the *vie intime* which might be turned to harm that the Jesuits deem its publication unadvisable.

Hurons, the Miamis and the Pottawatomis on the strait were mostly Christians. The Ottawas after abandoning their canton had made new homes on the littoral of Lake Michigan and in the fair regions of the Grand River Valley.

Sir William Johnson was not satisfied with the tenure of British supremacy over the Indian nations during the decade mentioned. He sent belts of wampum to the nations under his official control, inviting them to send their sachems and chiefs as delegates, at a stated time, to attend a general council at Niagara.

Colonel Croghan was sent to Pontiac at Peoria with a belt and invitation to attend this council, with the offer of an armed escort to protect his life against those whose relatives had been slain during his recent war. The chief declined the escort, but he promised to attend. He embarked in a war-canoe, descending Fox River with a retinue of chiefs, his totem on a pennant at the bow ; he passed from Green Bay down the lakes and reached the vicinity of the council unmolested, where he encamped, and then sent a wampum-belt to Sir William. The latter sent Colonel Croghan in response, who brought the chief and his retinue to the council, the scene of the opening of which was probably one of the most dramatic in American-Indian history.

Among the chiefs present was young Joseph Brant—Ta-yanda-ne-ga—brother of Sir William's Mohawk wife, Molly Brant. Many other sachems and chiefs were in attendance, but the most renowned Indian among them all was Pontiac.

Sir William presided, as the representative of British power in North America ; but he was not dressed in the brilliant uniform of a major-general which he was entitled to wear.

The Irish Mohawk chief wore the dress and carried the arms of a chief of the Mohawk tribe which had adopted him, one of whose maidens he had made his second wife ; over his costume he wore the scarlet cloak, indicating his rank in the most warlike of American Indian nations.

When Colonel Croghan entered the council-room with Pontiac, Sir William advanced to receive the renowned Ottawa ; the white chief and the red chief were on neutral ground ; but the red chief was won to friendship by the warm greeting extended by the white chief. The result of this council secured British supremacy over the Indian nations whose delegates were present, and gave the death-blow to the hopes of Indian control over all the regions west and south-west of New York.

The proceedings of this council, memorable in colonial history, with the great speech of Pontiac *in extenso*, will be found in W. L. Stone's "Memoirs of Sir William Johnson."

Pontiac returned to his camp, re-embarked in his war-canoe, and, sailing through the waters of Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan to Green Bay, he reached his adopted home, where, some years later, he was assassinated. No native of Detroit, whether of the red or of the white races, was more notable in the history of North America during the eighteenth century than this Ottawa chief. Had he accepted Christianity at the hands of Father de La Richardie, and, as a Christian, sought the wise counsel of Father Potier, his own destiny, that of his race, and the tenure of British control over the West, might have been essentially different in political results. But it is apparent these results were providentially directed for the development of white civilization and the spread of Christianity.

In the personal history of Pontiac there is no romance to be found. He was an Indian *pur sang*, and he lived and died outside the pale of Christianity. His discomfiture brought ruin to most of the nations who were in his league; the Senecas, who were with Pontiac, the most numerous and warlike of the nations of the Iroquoian Confederacy, is the only one that has retained autonomy, and who hold it at the present day.

This fine race continues to live in Western New York, on the same soil possessed by their ancestors four centuries ago. Remnants of the tribes of the other nations only are left, and most of these are to be found on Government reservations west of the Mississippi.

Tranquillity among the Indian nations represented at the famous council at Niagara succeeded unrest; and especially, as we have stated, among the Hurons, the Miamis, and the Pottawatomis in the vicinity of Detroit.

Sir William Johnson was an able administrator of Indian affairs; he was lavish in his presents of food and clothing to any tribe in need of assistance; whenever disturbances were provoked by unlawful acts by bad white men on the frontiers of the respective colonies, he promptly called a council to redress grievances, to settle disputes as to boundary lines, and to define the jurisdiction of the white residents or the rights of the Indian occupants of the soil in dispute. His untimely death at his castle on the Mohawk, while a general council of the sachems and chiefs of the Iroquoian Confederacy was in session, in 1773, was a calamity for the Indian nations at the time. The American Revolution succeeded, while the course of the British commandant at Detroit in arming and subsidizing all the Western Indian tribes and sending them on the war-path against the sparse settlements on the borders of the re-

volting colonies demoralized once more the Indian population, irrespective of nation or tribe. This shameful policy continued during and after the Revolution, and until the evacuation of Detroit by the British in July, 1796. Many of the Indians who went upon these raids never returned. *La Mission des Hurons du Detroit* gradually lost the flower of its male constituency; of the latter, the old men only were left, while, during the last decade of the career of its venerable Father Superior, the old men and the women and children of the Huron tribes were practically all that remained in the Huron village to benefit by his missionary care. The evangelization of the Hurons by Father de La Richardie, and the missionary work among them by his venerable successor, Father Potier, saved many souls; but, as we have stated, there is an inherent attraction in the nature of the American Indian for the excitements of war; however high the standard of the Huron may have been, he could not resist the temptation offered by the British commandant to indulge in this favorite passion.

Its indulgence hastened the demoralization of his race and the subsequent disappearance of the Huron tribes who had been domiciled under Catholic auspices at the Point de Montreal. Meanwhile, since the advent of Father de La Richardie two generations of French habitants had been born on the south littoral of the strait from Point Ottawa, the former home of Pontiac, several miles below Point de Montreal.

These became constituents of the parish of the Assumption, which had for its religious centre the Huron church built and enlarged by Father de La Richardie. The ancient registers of this parish attest the fecundity of this race of Catholics.

While, as we have stated, the historic mission-house and store is still extant, all vestiges of the mission-church have disappeared since the first years of the current last half of the passing century, while no outline of its venerable form has been preserved.

We were present at high mass in this old church while the present Church of the Assumption was in process of erection. The pastor at the time was the venerable Angus McDonnell, one of the race of Scottish Highland Catholic colonists who had been driven from Scotland and had settled in Canada during the last of the Stuart rebellions. The ceremonies were similar to those observed in Lower Canada—there was a beadle in uniform, the distribution of the blessed bread, and the sermon was delivered in French. There were some fine examples of wood-carving; but so old was the building that it had to be supported on the outside by strong beams to keep it in perpendicular.

From the course of political events as shaped on this frontier by the British commandant at Detroit the sacerdotal work of Father Potier at *La Mission des Hurons du Detroit* had been changed, during the later years of his life, from the spiritual direction of the Huron race to that of the French indigenous community which, in the meantime, had grown upon this soil.

But the care of their souls did not absorb all his time; he devoted his leisure hours to bibliographical study. We have critically examined his duplicate grammar of the Huron language, and have described this remarkable manuscript work in our first article on "Indian Bibliographies" in number 72 of Vol. XVIII. of this REVIEW, on pages 716-717.

The literary works of Father Potier might have been preserved intact had Governor Hamilton, British commandant at Detroit during the Revolution, possessed the honorable instincts of a British officer as to the sacredness of the records and papers of a Catholic priest. But this same officer, who armed the Indians and sent them to murder the helpless women and children of the American settlements, and who, when in a notable instance, as these Indians were about to leave the council-house, said to their chiefs, "*We take hold of the same tomahawk,*"¹ wrote to General Carleton at Quebec in 1778, "That, as the Jesuit missionary at this place is advanced in years and very infirm, I have directed, in case of his death, all his papers to be secured and sealed up till I have your Excellency's orders as to their possession."²

So well did Hamilton carry into effect the intention outlined in the letter quoted above that Father Potier's papers were sequestered, and subsequently scattered.

It was our rare fortune, half a century ago, to secure one of the most unique of these precious relics, the *Livre de Compte de la Mission des Hurons du Detroit*, in the microscopic but perfectly formed handwriting of Father Potier.

Others of his manuscripts, as we have stated, are in the archives of St. Mary's College at Montreal. The reference we made to the list of Easter communicants written by Father Potier, which the late Dr. Shea described, is another evidence how widely these precious manuscripts had been scattered.

During the war of the American Revolution the habitants on the north and south littorals of the strait from Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie were passive spectators of a contest in which they, as a class, were not interested. The last of the commandants of the

¹ Original letter on file in the Canadian archives at Ottawa.

² General Cass, discourse before Historical Society at Detroit, 1830.

post under the French *régime*, the Chevalier de Bellestre, who had returned to Quebec, was honored with the commission of a colonel in the British army and fought with distinction against the Continental forces. We believe he was the only officer of note who had been prominent at Detroit, and who had served under the standard of France, who fought on the British side during the Revolutionary campaigns.

In the meantime, while these momentous events were occurring in America, the edict of Pope Clement XIV. for the suppression of the Society of Jesus throughout the world had been forced from this Pontiff by the combined intrigues of the Bourbon cabinets of Europe. Certain formalities were prescribed for the promulgation of the edict to make its effect valid. Its promulgation in Canada by Jean Oliver Briand, Bishop of Quebec, was forbidden by the British Governor, General Carleton. The autonomy of the order in America remained intact until March, 1800, when the death of the last survivor of the illustrious line, Father Jean Joseph Cazot, ended the history of the Jesuits of the French *régime* in America. This is why Father Potier, while Superior of the Huron mission and pastor of the Church of the Assumption at the Pointe de Montreal, after recording in Latin in the register of the parish the *acte* performed, affixed his signature, Petrus Potier, S.J.

After the retirement of Father de La Richardie, during the remainder of French control, and until Pontiac commenced his great intrigue, Father Potier exercised great influence over the chiefs and people of the four nations—the Hurons, the Miamis, the Ottawas and the Pottawatomis. His profound knowledge of Indian character and the facility with which he spoke their respective dialects were advantageous qualities in this connection, while his unaffected bonhomie was also in his favor.

But this influence was weakened when his indigenous constituents had been, as it were, electrified by the excitements of war; besides, most of the chiefs, who had been more or less as a rule communicative, became reserved, as if they feared their secrets might escape.

For more than a decade of the later years of his career Father Potier's ministration was over the habitants of his extended parish.

La Mission des Hurons du Detroit, founded in 1728 by Father de La Richardie, which had flourished as such during forty years, had, in consequence of the political events culminating on the north littoral of the strait, ceased more or less to be an Indian missionary establishment. In its place there remained the Huron church, the spacious presbytery, and the parish of the Assumption which exists at the present day.

The "mission-store" was no longer a necessity, and it was abandoned ; so it was with the *forge*, which was sold ; the farm—the live-stock and the agricultural establishment which had been profitably maintained during the flourishing times of the mission—was reduced to suit the condition of a well-to-do habitant, leaving a couple of ponies sufficient for the journeys on sick-calls of a parish priest, whose circuit extended ten miles up and ten miles down the littoral of the strait.

The extensive domain which extended from the crescent bay about two miles south into the forest, which was several acres in width and admirably located, was considered too large for the appanage of a parochial *fabrique* like that of the Assumption. Portions of this domain were sold by Father Potier to parties whose descendants are in possession at the present day.

Copies of the deeds of these sales are on record in "Liber A. of Deeds," in the registry of Wayne County, Detroit. To each of these deeds is appended the authorization of the venerable surviving Father Superior of the Society of Jesus in North America ; Father Augustine-Louis de Glapion's signature is affixed to those of Father Potier's, thus placing on local record the fact of the existence of the autonomic status of the Society of Jesus at this time.

When Father Potier had reached the age of seventy-three, an unusually long life for a missionary priest who had been in continuous service for nearly forty years, he had become somewhat feeble and had been subject to attacks of vertigo ; it is considered probable that while walking in his study he experienced one of these attacks and fell backwards in such a way that his head struck the ball of one of the andirons of the hearth, which penetrated his skull and caused instant death ; his lifeless body was discovered by his sacristan July 17, 1781. Thus ended the career of the last of the Huron Missionaries of Detroit.¹

¹ Father Potier was the first Belgian priest who officiated on the littorals of the *Detroit*.

He was born at Blandain, Flanders, April 21, 1708. He began his studies at the Jesuit College of Tournai, April 21, 1721, and continued those studies at Douay. He entered upon his novitiate at Tournai September 30, 1729, and made his first vows as a Jesuit September 30, 1731.

His juniorate from October, 1731, to October, 1732, was as teacher at Lisle. As a professor he was six years at Bethune, 1732-1738. His course in theology of four years, 1738-1742, was completed at Douay. After a year of probation at Armentieres, subsequent to his ordination in 1741 and a retreat of eight days at Tournai, he made his final vows February 2, 1743. Taking leave of his parents and relatives at Blandain April 29, he departed for Paris, which city he reached May 1. Having volunteered for the Indian missions of Canada, he left Paris for La Rochelle May 9, and soon after embarked for America on the "Rubis."

His obsequies were performed by Vicar-General Hubert, subsequently Bishop of Quebec, of Ste. Anne's Church, Detroit, as appears in the register of the Church of the Assumption at the Huron Mission, with the official attestation of this prelate. His remains were laid to rest under the altar. When, seventy years later, Father Point, of the new *régime* of the Society of Jesus, had completed the present Church of the Assumption, and before the old historic Mission Church had been taken down, he had the remains of Father Potier and of two other priests, reposing beneath the altar, exhumed and translated to the new church and interred in front of its altar. The venerable missionary's remains were identified by the unusual length of the skeleton and by a round hole in the skull, where the ball of the andiron had penetrated. Rev. François Xavier Dufour, who died September 10, 1796, and Jean Baptiste Marchand, who died April 12, 1825, were the names of the two others.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

The voyage was tedious, and ended on the morning of October 1, 1743, when Father Potier landed at Quebec. We are indebted to our learned and venerable correspondent, Father Arthur E. Jones, for these authentic details, which are now published for the first time in America.

THE CHURCH AND SCHOLASTICISM.

RATIONALISM and *Traditionalism* may conveniently be used as terms to denote two philosophical extremes or excesses, towards one or other of which every mind, and the mind of every people and age, is unduly bent. Rationalism, in this sense, repudiates wholly, or suspects and distrusts, any assent which is not based on self-evidence or logical demonstration. Traditionalism, seeing the sceptical and unpractical issue of Rationalism, not only accepts the consent of mankind as an excellent working criterion, but would make it the universal final and infallible guide. Each of these erroneous extremes is founded on a truth too much neglected and overlooked by the other; and, according to the recognized law of its growth, it is only after a series of diminishing oscillation from one to the other that the human mind can hope to find rest and equilibrium in the golden mean. If *Rationalism* stands for an abuse of reason, *Traditionalism* stands for an abuse of the principle of faith. To establish the right use of faith and reason, and their exact relation one to another, is a problem which is ever gradually approaching a final solution, but which still presents many obscure points.

We may assume, what has so often been abundantly demonstrated, that the great bulk of our beliefs rest on matters which are not strictly rational, although in a broader sense they may be justified as prudent, and as so far rational. On a former occasion, when criticizing Mr. Balfour's work on "The Foundations of Belief," we wrote as follows:¹

"A moment's reflection will show that if, under pain of unreasonableness, we were bound to discredit every assertion until personally satisfied, from intrinsic reasons, mental growth would be impossible and society would perish. It would be like forbidding one to eat any morsel of food that he had not drawn out of the ground and prepared by his own unaided labor. Nor, to go much further with Mr. Balfour, would the effects be much less disastrous were one to refuse credence to any testimony that did not evidently conform to the logician's criterion of testimony.

"Authority, as Mr. Balfour takes it, is a strictly non-rational cause of belief; and its results, though reasonably accepted, have not *per se* a justification in philosophy, but must seek it elsewhere. That he means something more than such an instinctively rational acquiescence in authority as might be justified by the 'Illative Sense' seems to us plain, though he does not explicitly advert to the possible confusion. That children and simple folk believe what they are told is often to a great extent a rational act, so far as they confusedly believe, rightly or wrongly, that their informant is a com-

¹ *Month*, May, 1895.

petent and truthful witness, although to analyze or state their reason is beyond them. But, according to Mr. Balfour, reason here but supervenes, and mingles its force with that of a strong mental instinct analogous to the gregarious or imitative instincts of animals, which inclines us to believe an assertion as such, rather than discredit it.

" That this tendency to be influenced by assertion, to assent rather than to doubt in the absence of all evidence, does exist, can hardly be denied. Proofs abound to show that men's beliefs and conclusions do, as a fact, rest to a great extent on anything but reason. The existence of prejudice is not so much an abuse of reason as of this instinctive tendency to believe; it is but a hurtful issue of a principle which is, on the whole, useful and beneficial, though, like all instincts, fallible through want of adaptability to particular cases. Hence it is for reason not to despise, but to safeguard and supplement this instinct of docility.

" That the same political views should be held by all the members of the same family for generations, plainly points to a non-rational influence at work; that on the whole all the members of one religious order should agree as to the issue of an open question against all the members of another order,—and that, for generations,—is manifestly another instance in point. That in deference to the 'time-spirit' nearly all philosophers should agree in certain leading ethical and scientific conclusions, while hopelessly at variance about their derivation and worth, may serve as another example. It is needless to prove the existence of what is so notorious; but Mr. Balfour's concern is to show that this influence, and the instinct it appeals to, are an absolutely necessary and, in the rough, a legitimate source of beliefs. Far from clogging the growth of mind, it supplies it with its daily bread. To refuse these supplies is to perish. It is for reason to sift and compare, to eliminate what is incompatible, to verify and prove; but as an inventive faculty reason is feeble, almost useless in comparison. What reason disproves is reasonably rejected; but what reason cannot prove, remains by the same title that it entered.

" Even most of the beliefs that we seem to owe to reason, depend more fully on influence which furnishes so many of the premises. By reasoning we but condition and determine their action upon our mind; and to credit ourselves with the whole result would be to be proud of growing on the score that we had eaten our meals regularly. No doubt one of the causes why reason is in such superior repute is that we look on its conclusions as actively self-produced, forgetting how largely we are passively influenced by the premises which we use, and of which we can often give no rational account.

" There are very few who can give reasons at all for much that they believe; still less, reasons that are truly the cause of those beliefs, and not a mere after-justification of an instinctive acquiescence in authority. Like free-choice in the determination of our actions, reason in the determination of our opinions is everything in respect to its rights, but comparatively nothing in its actual results—a supreme court of appeal, but rarely appealed to. It criticizes when needful, but originates little. It supplements where the ordinary means is deficient, *i.e.*, where our instinct of docility and our acquired mental habits fail us.

" Mr. Balfour insists that this instinct is not only beneficial but necessary to all mental growth and progress. He defends it against the contempt with which it is fashionable to treat it, especially on the part of 'Naturalists' who rest their system on beliefs which are non-rational, and accepted merely on psychological compulsion, and whose only reasonable justification is trust in Nature's selected methods for man's well-being. Our relation to this mental instinct is much the same as that in which we stand to other instincts. Previous to the full use of reason we are governed by them wholly. They are for the most part efficacious means to the securing of necessary and natural ends, but, being of the nature of physical laws, they are not self-adaptive to exceptional cases. When reason supervenes, it may at times resist these instincts for motives of its own kind; or it may freely and deliberately approve and follow them; or it may direct, modify and adapt them; or, finally, it may trust the reins to Nature, and simply stand by to check or veto whatever is seemingly against right order. In all these cases, even in the last, the result is in some sense reasonable, though not the direct effect of reason. Even the policeman who stands by unseen to prevent a disturbance, may be credited with the order preserved by the crowd.

"So, too, many of our beliefs may be called reasonable in so far as reason would veto any patent absurdity. Still there will always be a large residuum with which reason has had nothing to do; mere unsorted material, by no means to be bundled out indiscriminately."

As is implied in the passages just cited, the formation of the mind is dependent both on reason and on what Mr. Balfour calls "authority," but what we prefer to call "tradition." To exalt one of these agencies at the expense of the other, or, still worse, to its exclusion, is to fall into the error of "Rationalism" or of "Traditionalism," as the case may be.

It would be misleading to press the analogy of bodily nutrition, so as to regard tradition as the feeder of the mind, furnishing it with pabulum which reason sorts, digests and assimilates; for the great bulk of our assents which are woven into the texture of our mind never are and never can be subjected to the criticism of our reason at all. We have simply to recognize the coexistence of two distinct orders of assent in our mind; one, of those in regard to which we are largely passive, and another, of those which we have in some sense formed for ourselves. It is evident that in the latter our intellectual dignity as free self-forming agents is chiefly vindicated, and that it is only the very limited character of that dignity that makes it needful to supplement our vast deficiencies by the humble and more humbling provision. It is this reflection that inclines our pride to resent this dependence on tradition, and to affect that rationalism which professes idly to believe nothing that cannot be proved. Had we entered upon existence with a mind already stored with innate judgments on every conceivable matter, with unaccountable but irresistible synthetic *a priori* assents, however we might have been mortified by our dependence on so needful a supplement of our narrow experience and feeble reasoning power, yet we should have been able to put that all but divine faith in such knowledge which we put in the wisdom of nature's instincts. Our trust would be such as we place in one who rarely or never deceives, and whose word is as good as a proof of the truth which it asserts. But we have been provided for far more humbly. God does not directly mould our mind himself, or even through necessary causes which execute his designs infallibly, but through the common beliefs and opinions of the society into which we are born and in which we live; through the intellectual atmosphere which we breathe; that is, through the instrumentality of frail men who can both deceive and be deceived. Thus it is that the irregularities of individuals are lost in the crowd; and though the multitude may be deceived, the multi-

tude will not readily agree to deceive, still less will the whole race, and that through successive generations. Without accepting the consent of the millions as an ultimate test of truth, yet in many matters within its competence it is obviously a reliable test, while in others it justifies a practical and prudent assent. Yet, so far as tradition is our only source of knowledge, it is full of many impurities ; and were we dependent on it alone we should pay for the truth with a variable but always a very appreciable percentage of error, though we should have no more cause of just complaint against the goodness of Nature than have the animals whose instincts at times fail them, but in the main are reliable. Not that tradition is necessarily reliable in the greater *number* of its truths, but that it is so for the greater practical truths on which the life and preservation of the race depends—else the race had perished long since. It is not and does not pretend to be a provision for speculative intelligence. If there is such a thing—and surely there is—as pride of intellect, it would seem to lie in a certain impatience at the limited nature of our mental faculties, a resentment that we are not created independent and self-sufficing in regard to the possession of truth, but must hang upon others and gather tares with our wheat, and struggle from darkness to dimness and from dimness to a little light about little things. We would be as gods, knowing all things for ourselves ; and so the vessel complains to the potter : Why hast thou formed me thus ?

Although faith in itself, apart from those preambles which are its conditions but not its cause, is a non-rational (not an irrational) assent, yet in so far as it is an obedience of the mind, believing simply because it is told to believe, not from a criticism of the speaker's competence and veracity, but from a recognition of his moral authority to govern and shape the mind at his will, it is a motive of certitude, *i.e.*, of subjective firmness in adhering to a truth. Here, as soon and as long as we recognize an authority with a right to govern and command our assents, all disobedience, and therefore all doubt, becomes sinful. There is, however, an immeasurable difference between the firmness of the assent which a parent exacts of his child and that which God exacts of his creature, for each rightly exacts a firmness proportioned to the value of their own competence and no more. No mother would require of her child to receive her word as the word of God, but only at her own estimate of its value. To exact more were an abuse of authority ; to exact as much, without any proof or defence of her intellectual competence and veracity, is lawful, just as she may lawfully physic or feed or otherwise govern her child in

body or mind or morals without being called upon first to prove her competence to the said child. That the child's confidence may be occasionally abused no more interferes with the moral duty of obedience of judgment than does the possibility of misguidance in practical matters of conduct excuse from obedience in general. Unless the error be self-evident or clearly evident, the child must submit to authority as to its natural God-appointed guide, pending the growth of the power of self-guidance.

If we look into the matter more closely we shall find that, as in the case of our other natural sources of knowledge, so here the occasional error is due to our own inferences from the *data* we receive, and is not contained in the *data* themselves.

Although the child (in years or culture) can form no logical estimate of the value of testimony, yet it has a certain instinctive estimate. Its assent does not fall directly upon the objective verity, but upon the verity as mirrored and reflected in the mind of its informant, and as getting its objective value therefrom. To pass from the undoubted, self-evident fact that its mother says that fire burns, to the further fact that fire does actually burn, is a matter of immediate though unconscious inference, which may deceive occasionally. Every parental assertion as such has a certain weight of probability which in normal cases may be treated as practical certainty, and makes the unconscious inference from assertion to fact quite legitimate and prudent, though not infallible. Similarly the assent accorded to particular matters of public tradition and general agreement falls directly upon the fact that it is publicly said and generally agreed to; and if the mind is, in one and the same act, reflected from the mirror to the reality—if, that is, because it is generally said to be so, we infer that it is so—this inference has a value just proportioned to the trustworthiness of public opinion in such matters, and no more. For example, much that we read in the legends of the saints is not professedly a record of facts, but of what have been commonly accounted as facts. It gives us the impression made by the saint's personality on the public mind of past times. We are looking into a mirror, and not directly into realities. It is left to our skill and intelligence to interpret the symbolism ; to recognize the man underneath the disguise of halo, and emblem, and jewelled vesture ; to separate what the old schoolmen would call the "second intention" from the "first intention," the idealization from the reality, the subjective modification from the object modified. It will be strange if false miracles are not mingled with true, or if the true be recorded without some decoration and addition. With practical wisdom the Church

gives us the story in the gross and as a whole, without much attempt to sieve chaff from wheat, dross from gold, so long as the dross is not hurtful. Were it all given to us as objective truth, and not formally as tradition, then indeed it would be a hurt to deem fact what is not fact, however unimportant; but the only fact the Church vouches for in the matter is that these things have been generally said and believed by prudent persons, and presumably have a considerable basis in history.

The Catholic religion, therefore, without being traditionalist, sets no small store by tradition as a method, nay, even as the principal and most practical method of forming the human mind. She sees clearly that assents which in one way are non-rational—and amongst them the assent of Faith—are from a wider and higher point of view rational and necessary. Still, she has never regarded tradition as an exclusive or ultimate criterion of truth, or allowed its claims to stand in the face of self-evident or demonstrable contradiction. She knows well that logic and analytical reasoning can never lead the mind to super-rational truths, nor, even with any facility, security, and universality, to the common truths of theism. Yet, if analytical reason is not a guide, at least it is a test to be used; not always—else our minds would be starved—but in cases of reasonable doubt. However liable to abuse, the Church does not on that account discard or despise what without offence might be called the “rationalising” of our faith; its defence against the charge of being in conflict with itself or with demonstrable truth of any kind; its illustration; its ever exacter expression; its orderly and scientific treatment. Herein we have a great safeguard against that fanaticism and superstition which would be favored by traditionalism and a total neglect of criticism. If at certain periods she has leaned over to the side of traditionalism to counteract the rationalistic bias of the age, if to the earliest Church Aristotle was the foe of faith, she has been no less ready to lean over to the other side, and to press Aristotle into her service against an uncritical and short-sighted contempt of reason in the supposed interests of faith. Not that in any age she has been traditionalist or rationalist, or neglected the sound principles perverted by both extremes. If the matter of her earliest creeds and symbols has been provided by tradition, their very form and setting forth has been the work of reason; nor does the structure of the “Summa” of Aquinas merit the reproach of rationalism any more justly than that of the Apostles’ Creed, of which it is but an evolution.

Philosophy has its due function in the collective mind of the

Church as in the individual mind. Reason and analysis are not a guide but a corrective. We learn through faith, through tradition, through imitation, through unconscious inference, for the most part; that is, through sources where truth is to some extent mingled with error; and so far as we have leisure and culture our reason sifts and analyses these multitudinous assents; rejects what is spurious and worthless, classifies and orders the remainder, always tending to some comprehensive unification of all our knowledge into one organic whole. So far as this last tendency is conscious and reflex, we may be said to be in quest of a philosophy; but even wherever reason in any way begins to work on the gathered materials of thought, there is an unconscious groping after this same unity. Similarly in practical matters we are guided in the main by instincts, passions, habits, customs, fashions, laws; and it is only to supplement the occasional deficiencies of these humble guides that reason is called in to decide problems of right and wrong. Philosophy, therefore, is very dispensable for most individuals, but not so for society as a whole. There must be those who frame laws, who search out truths, who correct errors and abuses, else the corruptive tendency of tradition would be unchecked.

So albeit that Divine Faith, and in a large measure human tradition, is the means whereby religious truth is apprehended by the millions of Christendom, and indeed by all in so far as they are Christians; yet the Church acknowledges the need of some sort of public philosophy whereby the very notion of faith may be vindicated, the *data* of faith set in order, expressed, and translated into the mind-language and word-language of the day, and not only defended from the charge of conflict with demonstrated truth, but in some measure synthesized with secular knowledge into one organic whole. Still more needful is such a corrective rationalism when it is a question not of the infallible religious data of Divine Faith, but the very fallible religious data of human tradition.

For this end the Church has always implicitly or explicitly availed herself of some kind of philosophy in giving expression to her teaching. Those who find fault with her for this forget that there is a philosophy, nay, a metaphysics implied in the common language of the rudest savage or the simplest child. It is not only the Gospel of S. John but the Sermon on the Mount which depends for its intelligibility on a presupposed philosophy.

We may not unfairly to some extent regard a philosophy as a mind-language, as a system of inward ideal signs or forms by which the mind actively presents and expresses to itself the whole

body of that knowledge of which it is first the passive recipient. "Not unfairly," since every philosophy has also a word-language whose parts and inflections answer roughly to something in the mind. And as we can largely translate from one philosophical word-language into another with substantial fidelity, we may safely infer that there is a corresponding agreement in the mind-language, although there will always be an extensive residue of irreconcilable difference in detail owing to differences of experience, information and reflection. In a word, as language itself is natural, and as all languages in spite of the widest differences observe certain laws in their growth towards an even more flexible system of expression, so the tendency to unify our ideas into a system; and the fundamental lines of that procedure are common to all men, however antagonistic their analysis or expression of the process. The Catholic religion can no more be independent of philosophy than it can be of language. The Gospel is preached in human words, and the words must be translated into human thoughts and ideas; thoughts and ideas imply categories, and categories bring us into philosophy. But then, since Catholicism is the religion of humanity, of all ages and countries, of all levels of culture, it cannot afford to make itself dependent on that which is contingent, local and mutable, but must in some sense speak a Catholic and universal language, and rise above the differences of philosophies and grasp that which is common to all. How, as a matter of fact, has she dealt with this problem?

She has taken a word-language which when living had a sort of territorial universality, and which being now dead has the greater universality of an universal and immutable standard—a language the meaning of whose terms is no longer fluctuating but fixed, and in which her teaching, once stereotyped, can be translated into the living languages of various countries as faithfully as possible. Yet this were not enough, for the realities which she proposes to our faith have first to be conceived, formed and expressed in the ideal language of the mind before they are formulated upon the lips; they have to be clothed in philosophy before they are clothed in words. They cannot lie in the mind as disconnected apprehensions in no way entering into the thought-system. To apprehend is also to classify; it is to compare and contrast; to observe agreements and differences, likenesses and unlikenesses. And so the Church has taken a classical philosophy which was when living—and who can say that it is yet dead or will ever die, save as to its excesses and follies, as long as man's first and freshest thought is realism?—which when living attained an univer-

sality even wider than that of the Latin or Greek tongue; which was professedly the philosophy of common sense and common language; which by reason of its child-like directness and simplicity departed as little as possible from the fundamental conceptions common to all philosophies, and in this philosophy she eventually decided to embody her dogmas, leaving it to those who should care to do so at their own peril to translate them from the mind-forms of Aristotle into the mind-forms of other thinkers, *salvi substantie*.

To suppose, however, that in using Aristotle for this purpose the Church hereby commits herself to his philosophy as the only possible or the best possible, would be almost as foolish as to suppose that she regarded ecclesiastical Latin as the original or the best possible language. She does not deny that Chinese may admirably express the fact of the Immaculate Conception, but she does not guarantee the translation in the sense in which she guarantees the Vulgate to be substantially faithful to the originals from which it was translated. Similarly, if the facts which she expresses as "transubstantiation," or "hypostatic union," or "trinity" can be faithfully conveyed in the philosophy of Berkeley or of the Sensists, well and good; but she does not guarantee the translation.

Further, when she condemns certain formulæ and verbal expressions, she takes them only according to the sense they bear in the philosophy which she has adopted, and takes no account of the sense other philosophies may attach to them.

By Scholasticism we understand the application of Aristotle to theology, or the expression of the facts and realities of revelation in the mind-language of the peripatetics. That the gain to theology in clearness, order, stability was immense no one can deny; and as a flexible and exact medium of expression is one of the chief instruments in the evolution of any science, so here the vitality and rapid growth of theological thought in the schools was undoubtedly the result of this gain. Let us grant that it was to some extent a one-sided growth, neglecting as it did the historic and inductive method, then undreamt of; that it simply evolved into explicit recognition what was already contained in received data; that it brought no new facts to light, but simply analysed the facts to hand which it took for granted. Yet this very analysis, ordering, systematizing, was at the time a more urgent need. It is better to digest a little thoroughly than to overload our minds, as is now the fashion, with undigested masses of information. Doubtless, for lack of sufficient matter to work upon, this

digestive process was carried in many ways to excess, and the desire to unify and systematize made men apt to press fact into accord with theory, instead of waiting patiently for fuller light. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the desire to establish an unbroken logical sequence from the data of sense and reason up to the conclusions of faith ; starting from the rational proofs of God's existence and veracity, of the possibility and probability and fact of a Divine revelation, attested by miracle and prophecy, and thence passing, in strict accordance with the canons of criticism, to the acceptance of the Divine testimony according to its demonstrated worth—thus trying to show that even reason leads us to a rational hold of those truths which faith holds to by an act of will.

That such a synthesis is possible, and that it should be attempted, always, as something provisional, by experts, we have elsewhere insisted. In a certain objective and impersonal sense such a scientific apologetic may be considered to represent the "preambles" of faith ; but to suppose that any such logical process is requisite to make faith subjectively reasonable, or that faith in the individual depends on its validity, is nothing short of rationalism. The subjective and always necessary preamble of faith is a clear apprehension of the duty of obeying God in the matter of belief as in any other matter—a certainty which needs no power of logical and formal analysis—"Non in dialectica vult Deus salvari populum suum." The true reasonableness of faith is sacred in the simplest believer ; the reasonableness of apologetics is a luxury of the few, and altogether dispensable as far as the individual is concerned.

Here, perhaps, the impetus given to systematizing and syllogizing by Scholasticism may have led to some excesses and misapprehensions. Faith being an act of loyal personal trust in God (whether speaking through conscience or through Christ or through the Church), it were as absurd to expect that any objective analysis could adequately describe the concrete grounds of that trust as that one could put in words and forms the reason for one's hopes or affections, or likes or dislikes. It were no less absurd to expect that an unbeliever should be able adequately to formulate his entire subjective reason for not trusting. Nothing is more familiar to us than the ridiculous inadequacy of the attempts we make to give reasons for actions, decisions, impressions that we know to be perfectly reasonable. Our powers of analysis and expression lag woefully behind our powers of intuition and of informal inference. It is for this reason that so much polemical

and controversial writing is mere air-beating. Arguments seem unanswerable, and yet no conviction is produced—not because of any intellectual deficiency or insincerity on either side, but because of the disproportion between formal logic and the thoughts of man's heart.

The legitimate aim of the apologist is to square the credibility of revelation with the demonstrable or evident truths of secular knowledge. Where this seems impossible it will be due to a false assumption on one side or the other, and the error may be latent for years. He would be equally foolish who should be distressed by any such temporary hitch, or who should be sanguine over a seemingly perfect harmony; for, as the defences that seemed satisfactory a century ago seem wholly inadequate to day, so the apologetics of to-day may be comparatively worthless a century hence.

It was the error of the scholastics to put too full a reliance on the secular philosophy, history, physics and criticism of their own day; to be over-eager to enter into harmony with it, and then to regard their painfully-wrought synthesis as final and perpetual. Clinging to that synthesis, their successors were often disposed either to ignore the total change of position on the part of secular thought, or else to labor vainly to bring the world back to that philosophy which their apologetic supposed, and for which alone it availed. Hence the vague idea among Catholics as well as among non-Catholics¹ that the Church had virtually incorporated

¹ Though introducing a hostile conclusion, the following remark rightly insists on the contingent nature of the alliance between the Catholic creed and the philosophy which it uses to express itself:

"It should be remembered that the Eastern Church knows nothing of scholasticism, and has never passed through this phase of thought. The West has; and although it is a system generally taught and received, scholasticism has passed away, yet it has not done so without leaving many a trace behind it. The reduction of matter and form to certain irreducible *minima* are again conceptions which we owe to scholasticism. The doctrine of intention as now taught is another scholastic product. Accordingly, the great Roman Church, which in formulating the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Ever-Virgin Mary has carried the application of logic to spiritual matters further than any other church has dared to do, finds it necessary first to teach its future theologians the scholastic philosophy, that into minds prepared by that teaching may be poured the Western theology built upon scholasticism."—*A Complete Manual of Canon Law*, by Oswald J. Reichel, vol. ii., Preface. London, 1896. P. T. O.

If it be urged that "quisquis deinceps assevere, defendere seu tenere pertinaciter præsumperit, quod anima rationalis seu intellectiva non sit forma corporis humani per se essentialiter tamquam hereticus sit censendus" [Concilium Viennense], and that therefore Catholics are tied to the system of hytomorphism, it will be now evident how such an objection should be met. The Council addresses a public which spoke the language and used the forms of the scholastics, and therefore it uses that same language. The contrary doctrine in that same school of thought denied the substantial unity of human

Aristotle's philosophy into her official teaching. That she makes use of it as a fixed standard of expression we have already seen, but that she commits herself to any of its tenets that are not necessarily accepted (however expressed) by the common sense of all mankind we may boldly deny; for, like every other philosophy worthy the name, it contains certain elements given irresistibly by the very nature of the human mind, combined with many peculiar and questionable features which are the work of human ingenuity.

That the Church should require her ecclesiastics to be well versed in the thought-language which she has made her own is no more wonderful than that she should exact from them a knowledge of ecclesiastical Latin. Such action cannot be twisted into an indiscriminate approval of Aristotle and a condemnation of every other philosophy.

As far as the cultivation of an analytical habit of mind goes, it perhaps matters less that the philosophy should be absolutely unquestionable than that it should be coherent, systematic, well worked out, and as close as possible to the lines of ordinary unsophisticated thought. This, perhaps, will always give Aristotle precedence as an educational instrument, as the innumerable revivals and reactions in his favor indicate. Of course the exclusive cultivation of analytical habits to the neglect of the historical and positive methods can lead to nothing but the narrowest rationalism, and eventually to scepticism. It would be to provide an elaborate machinery with nothing to work upon. It was through this one-sidedness that the abuse, not the use, of scholasticism led to Protestantism, and thence to the widespread scepticism now prevalent outside the Church. Yet it is no less plain that an indiscriminate traditionalism would have reacted in the same direction, for it is only in the right adjustment and tempering of all methods that truth is safeguarded.

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nature and so imperilled the right understanding of more than one dogma of faith. If the Greeks had had to deal with similar heresies they could not have formulated the truth without supposing and using some kind of philosophy. Even Anglicans can never hope to say anything intelligent or coherent without committing themselves to theories of thought and reality which form no part of revelation.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE PACIFIC.

IT is only within a century that the natives of the Pacific islands have been brought into contact with modern civilization. Magellan, it is true, crossed the South Sea at the same time as Cortez conquered Mexico, and during the following two centuries a few explorers, Spanish, Dutch and English, touched occasionally at a few of its islands ; but they were looked on as too insignificant for settlement or conquest, and no attempt was made at either by any European nation. The natives were left undisturbed in their primitive barbarism while the American continent was being conquered and colonized from Canada to Patagonia.

The scientific expeditions of Cook and Bougainville between 1760 and 1770 first awakened in Europe an interest in the Pacific islands. It was more sentimental, at first, than practical. The time was fertile in new theories of society, and Rousseau's "Social Contract" and his declamations on the charm of savage life were a fashionable fad in France and England. They brought back to civilization conceptions of the joyous and indolent life of a primitive people on the fertile islands of tropical seas, and soon fascinated public attention. Louis XVI. sent out La Perouse to explore the Pacific just before the French Revolution. The British sent Bligh on a similar errand at nearly the same time. His crew mutinied, and became the first white settlers of any part of the Pacific islands. Traders and whalers began to follow in the wake of scientific exploration, and their crews left an increasing contingent of runaway sailors amongst the islands before the close of the century. The convict station of Botany Bay, now the city of Sydney, was established in 1788, and escaped criminals soon became a numerous class through many of the groups of the Pacific.

Another class of Europeans appeared as settlers eight years after the establishment of Botany Bay. These were English Protestant missionary colonists. Down to that time the English people, in its foreign conquests, had been indifferent to any work for the spread of Christian belief among heathen populations. There was not an English clergyman, except military chaplains, in the Indian Empire of Warren Hastings. Bishop Berkeley's project for a mission to the American Indians fell still-born before

the indifference of the English ministry and English church. Towards the end of the last century, however, as a consequence of the growth of Methodism through the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield, an idea that something ought to be done for the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands became popular among English Protestants, especially the bodies outside the State Church. A movement began not unlike the Salvation Army of our own time, and equally vague in the doctrines which it desired to teach. A meeting of three hundred ministers of various sects, held in 1795, organized itself into a body under the name of the London Missionary Society, and with the professed object of teaching Christianity to the heathen generally. The society, when organized, was somewhat puzzled how to begin its novel and extensive task. A committee was duly appointed, and pronounced in favor of the South Sea islands as the best field for the newly awakened missionary spirit. The report was drawn up by a Dr. Haweis and unanimously adopted. Its eminently practical character illustrates the idea and nature of English Protestant missionary work admirably.

Having laid down the duty of Christians to send teachers of the Faith to the non-Christian world, the report first stated the conditions which would excuse from anything in the way of missions. These were :

" 1. An inhospitable climate, whether from wet, intense heat, or cold. The preservation of a missionary's life is of the last importance.

" 2. Absolute governments, such as China and Japan, desirable objects for a mission, but in neither is it possible to introduce one.

" 3. Established prejudices of false religions. Such is the state of the Hindus and Mahometans, who are shut within a barrier of prejudice against us.

" 4. The acquirement of languages. On the African coast the nations and tongues are so multiplied as to increase the difficulty of evangelical operations. Several tongues are necessary to a missionary in India. The Chinese is all but insuperable."

That the kind of mission work contemplated by the London society was entirely different from that which had converted Europe to Christianity was thus made clear, but still the report found a field where it could be safely attempted.

" Of all regions of the earth that are yet in heathen darkness," the report continued, "the South Sea islands appear to combine the greatest prospect of success with the smallest number of difficulties.

" 1. The climate is unequalled; winter's cold is never known. The trees are clothed in perpetual foliage and bear fruit most of the year.

" The heat is constantly alleviated by alternate breezes, while the natives sit under the shade of groves scattering odors and loaded with fruit.

" The diseases of Europe are unknown, unless imported; *health and longevity generally mark the inhabitants.* We shall not have to follow them into the lonely wilds of

a desert or over fields of ice. Every man is at hand, under his cocoa or bread-fruit tree, and the sound of the saw or anvil will never fail to attract an audience.

"2. The government is monarchical, but of the mildest nature, with little authority, no written law, nor the use of letters:

"3. Religious prejudices are not strong. The little we know affords the strongest evidence that the priests are not invested with a power to persecute, nor can the people be averse to hear us on a religious subject, since they reverence us as their superiors on almost every other.

"4. The language is simple and easily acquired."

This remarkable summary of motives for missions to the South Seas was cordially accepted by the London society. It was resolved that its first efforts should be directed there, and "that a vessel should be provided and navigated by a serious captain and crew, with accommodations for thirty or more missionaries, exclusive of women and children. Tahiti, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich Islands and the Peleu Islands" were specified as the points to be occupied. The directors added that the voyage "might be profitably terminated by the missionary ship passing on to China or Bengal and getting freight home from the East India Company." The East India Company was willing, and the ship Duff, Captain Wilson, commander, duly sailed with its missionary passengers in 1796, and landed them at various points in the South Seas.

The missionaries sent out in the Duff were by no means all clergymen. The majority were mechanics of various kinds, smiths, carpenters and potters, who were to establish themselves in small colonies for their own benefit. The captain was specially ordered to get free grants of land from the chiefs, and to secure the protection of the most powerful among them. Individual missionaries, clerical and lay, subsequently acquired immense tracts for very small consideration, a few hatchets or shirts being, in New Zealand, the price paid for many thousand acres. In Tonga, Tahiti, and other islands, powerful chiefs readily accepted the wealthy strangers as their guides, and ministers soon obtained full control of the native populations. Arms and ammunition were an important part of mission supplies. From the beginning, and with the help of these instruments of civilization, the friends of the missionaries soon won supremacy among their fellows. The name of Christians was freely given by the Protestant ministers to their partisans, and glowing accounts of conversions swelled the contributions at home, while the labor of the natives was made to contribute to the profit of their teachers abroad. The mission vessels had a practical trade monopoly, and the chiefs readily lent themselves to any legislation suggested by their new

teachers as a part of the new religion and "white man's ways." The legislation was chiefly on the pattern of the Scotch Presbyterian Kirk and the old Blue Laws of New England. Religious doctrine of a definite kind there was little, but attendance at prayer-meetings was rigidly enforced, often by the lash. The native dress, the old meetings for social enjoyment, and dances, were regarded as criminal offences, at least among the mass of the people. Reading and writing were introduced, and translations of the Bible into the native language were spread broadcast among the so-called converts. To English religious ideas of the time reading the Bible was sufficient to make Christians, and it is not surprising that the morals of the converts remained nearly as before.

The natives of the Pacific islands are a very distinct race, or rather two races. The brown Polynesians, from New Zealand to Hawaii, are all of a common stock. From Fiji west a nearly black race, known as Melanesian, occupies the different groups. The Polynesians in all their settlements spoke practically a common language, and had the same government and customs. In some respects they were further advanced in civilization than either the African negroes or the Indians of our own continent. They cultivated the ground, though grain of any kind was unknown, and fruits and roots their only crops anywhere. They built houses and temples of wood, and their war-canoes were often large enough to carry a hundred and fifty men each, and to make expeditions of over a thousand miles. They made cloth from the bark of the paper mulberry, and wove cordage from the cocoa fibre, and sails were as familiar to their ways as oars. Yet they knew nothing of any metal, and shell and stone or bone were the only materials for the tools they used. They were not without a certain amount of mental culture. Their history and the pedigrees of the chiefs were handed down from one generation to another in ballads carefully learned by memory. They had a mythology and a class of priests; they believed in a life beyond the grave and in future rewards and punishments, though on this their ideas were vague enough. Their government was organized to a much higher degree than among the Indian hunters of America. In Hawaii and New Zealand it was nearly as definite as the royal authority in England or France at the time of the Norman conquest. Everywhere there were chiefs and subchiefs, and if there were no codes of law, there were strict rules of social etiquette and a rude chivalry in war. They had public meetings for national objects, and oratory was cultivated, as in civilized communities, as a means of political

influence. Gatherings for social enjoyment were also very common, and there was little rudeness or brutality in manners, except in war time. All early voyagers were struck with the fine figures and physical strength of the Polynesians, as well as by the good temper and cheerfulness of their character. Altogether they may be regarded as, by nature, one of the finest races of mankind, though still in the infancy of civilization.

On the other hand, they had little idea of a moral code of action. Human life was of little account whenever passions were excited or interests involved. Their wars were ferocious and exterminating, and cannibalism was common, though to a much less extent among the Polynesians than the Melanesians of Fiji or New Caledonia, where it was an every-day practice. Like all uncivilized races, too, they were capricious in their likes and dislikes, and disinclined to steady work—except under compulsion. Compared to Christian Europe and America they were a nation of children ready to be moulded by superior knowledge for good or evil.

The result to this primitive race of a century's intercourse with modern civilization is as strange as it is saddening. Tools and clothes and books have been introduced and cannibalism has disappeared, but the native population, without any armed conquest, is dying out as if stricken by a pestilence. When Cook visited Tahiti in 1769, the scientific men in his company estimated the population of the Society Islands at over four hundred thousand. The chief of the island mustered three hundred and thirty boats, manned by seven thousand men, for a review on one occasion. To-day the whole group has scarcely thirty thousand. In Hawaii, when the widow of Kamahameha I. put herself under the control of Messrs. Bingham and Thurston, the American missionaries in 1821, a census was taken which gave a population of over a hundred and forty thousand natives. In 1890 the total was only thirty-eight thousand. The New Zealand Maoris, though unconquered by the British troops in many a battle, have shrunk in numbers in fifty years to less than thirty thousand. They were over a hundred thousand when the British Government took possession in 1840. Tonga, Samoa, the Marquesas Islands, Fiji, and nearly every other group of the Pacific, has a similar tale of vanished population. Four or five exceptions are all that can be found. The Hervey Islands, the Gambiers, Wallis, Futuna, and the Island of Pines, on the coast of New Caledonia, are almost the only places where the native population increases. In Wallis it has doubled in forty years, and in Futuna a similar increase is

noted since the old religion was abandoned. It is noteworthy that it was from Catholic sources that Wallis, Futuna and the Gambiers got their first introduction to civilization, and the same is true of the Island of Pines.

Hawaii was the first of the Pacific groups to receive Catholic missionaries. In 1825 Leo XII. established a Prefecture Apostolic of Oceanica and appointed Father Bachelot of the French Missionary Society of Picpus its first Prefect. It is a curious coincidence that at the time a future Pope, Pius IV., was temporarily residing on the shores of the Pacific in Chile. Father Bachelot, with two other priests, landed in 1827 at Honolulu, which was already a port frequented by whalers, and the capital of the whole kingdom founded a few years earlier by the conqueror, Kamahameha I. His widow was then reigning, and anxious to model her dominions on the white man's ways. In this task she had taken as her advisers a colony of New England Calvinist ministers who had landed seven years before. At the time when the queen was beginning to revolutionize the native government Mr. Bingham, a congregational minister, was the queen's guide in both religion and politics, and Protestant churches and schools had been built extensively through the islands. The queen and many of the chiefs called themselves Christians, and the churches were attended by a large part of the natives.

The Catholic mission, however, was not ill-received by the Hawaiians. They came to the chapel which Father Bachelot built and listened to the new doctrines. Within two years about a hundred had been admitted to the Church by baptism, and twice that number were preparing for that sacrament. Mr. Bingham had a full share of the Puritan intolerance and hatred of the Catholic Church, and the queen, under his instructions, forbade religious freedom to her subjects and ordered the Catholics to attend Protestant churches. The priests were at the same time prohibited from receiving native converts, and on their refusal to obey were put by force on an English vessel and transported to California in 1831. A bitter persecution was set on foot against the native Catholics for several years. Women were flogged and hung by the wrists from posts for many hours at a time. Others were condemned to the chain-gang or long terms of close imprisonment. A characteristic punishment was obliging the Catholic converts to clean the jail privies with their bare hands. It is remarkable that very few Hawaiians gave up their religion during the eight years of Puritan intolerance, though they had neither priest nor church.

Fathers Bachelot and Short made an attempt to resume their mission in 1837, after six years' exile. The death of the old queen, it was thought, might end the persecution, but it did not. Mr. Bingham and his colleagues had been reinforced from New England, and they handled the natives with the skill of politicians and the intolerance of the old Puritans. The priests were arrested on landing and put on board the vessel in which they had come. The English and American consuls remonstrated in their favor, but the only concession they could obtain was that Fathers Bachelot and Short might stay until vessels were available to carry them to some friendly port. Father Short after some time got a passage to Valparaiso, and Father Bachelot chartered a schooner to carry him to the Gambier Islands, where a Catholic mission was already established. The schooner would have to leave him on some still savage island for several months, as it had a trading-trip to make before going to the Gambiers. It sailed for the Ascension group, but Father Bachelot's health had been broken and he died on sea. His grave was made on a little island of the ocean whose pioneer Catholic missionary he had been, and only one countryman and four natives formed the attendance at his burial.

Eighteen months after Father Bachelot's death the Puritan persecution in Hawaii was ended suddenly. A French frigate anchored in Honolulu in 1839 and sent a demand to the king for the free exercise of Catholic worship through the islands. The Puritan missionaries yielded reluctantly. Father Maigret, afterwards bishop, and some other priests, landed and resumed the long-interrupted missions. A remarkable movement took place towards Catholicity. Within two years there were three thousand converts, who increased to fourteen thousand in eight years. In 1864 Bishop Maigret counted one-third of the then population in his flock, and the Protestant population was only another third.

Though the Puritan missionaries had to allow freedom of religion to the natives of Hawaii they continued to direct their government. If attendance at Protestant churches was not compulsory they took charge of the schools and tried to suppress those established by the Catholic priests. The administration of the islands was run by the methods familiar to American politicians. American law was made the law of the land and the missionaries appointed the judges to interpret it. A financial system was established, and another missionary, Judd, kindly took charge of the native Treasury. A land system on modern ideas was established, and the bulk of the soil of the country was turned over for a nomi-

nal consideration to an Improvement Company in which ex-missionaries and their friends were the stockholders. Foreign laborers were brought from Asia to work the plantations of the missionary colonists, while the natives have dwindled to one-fourth of their numbers seventy years ago. They are now a minority in their own land, and the control of their own destiny has passed away from their hands. Their experience of the benefits of civilization without Catholic Faith has been a hard one indeed.

Amongst the results of it has been one which has drawn wide attention throughout the world. Leprosy in a terrible form appeared in Hawaii about 1850, and it spread so rapidly that the government, after some years, ordered the banishment of all afflicted persons to the valley of Molokai. There is no egress from this leper colony, once a patient enters, and within it the unfortunate prisoners literally rot away to death. There were over seven hundred lepers in Molokai when in 1873 a Belgian, Father Damien Devenster, asked to become their chaplain and share their imprisonment. He had no lodging, at first, but the shade of a tree, when he entered the devoted valley. How he lived and toiled for years in that dreary spot, cheering, consoling and reforming the unfortunate inmates until the plague seized himself, need not be detailed here further. It is known throughout the world.

That civilization under Christian principles need not be fatal to the Polynesians, the experience of another community will show. The contrast is remarkable.

In 1833, while Father Bachelot was in exile in California, the Holy See established a new diocese for the Pacific Ocean. Its first Bishop was Dr. Stephen Rouchouze, who sailed with four priests and a few lay brothers for his distant diocese that year. His first destination was Tahiti, but the queen, under the influence of the Methodist ministers established there since 1797, refused him permission to land. The young bishop had to seek a place among the islands where the natives were still in their original barbarism. He found it in the Gambier group, to the south of the Poumoutou Archipelago, whose barren sands had offered little inducement to foreign visitors.

The four little islands which form the Gambiers were, on a small scale, a copy of the Hawaii of Kamahameha I. A conquering chief had united them into a little kingdom a generation before, after long wars which had materially lessened the population. The government was the same in form, the language, the customs, the religion and the dress of the people the same as in

Hawaii of old. The native paper-cloth was their only dress, hogs and dogs were the only animals, and the canoes were hollowed out with stone axes and the fish caught with pearl-shell hooks. A few pearl-fishers had occasionally touched on their shores, but in all essentials the Polynesians of Gambier sixty years ago were the same as the Tahitians of Cook's day.

Into this community of three or four thousand primitive islanders a Spanish schooner brought the first Catholic Bishop of Oceanica on All Saints' Day of 1834. The chiefs were surprised when the strangers asked leave to settle among them, but they granted it readily. The missionaries landed their baggage, the brothers began to plant a garden, and the priests to learn the language and make themselves friends with all classes, chiefs and slaves alike. As soon as the new-comers were able to make their mission understood they found it well received. There was no particular desire to learn the improvements of material civilization, but the Catholic teaching of the nature of God, the future life, and the redemption, excited serious attention. Like most Polynesians, the Gambiers had a priesthood with a chief whose authority was next to that of the king, but the chief priest was one of the first converts. A strange prediction was current in the islands that a new and true worship was shortly to be brought among them. A woman of the priestly class had repeated it for many years during the reign of the last king, and had added that the strangers to introduce it would come after her own death. From whatever cause the readiness of the Gambier islanders to accept the Catholic faith came, it existed in a way hardly found elsewhere among any Polynesian tribes.

The work of true missionaries, however, only really began when the tattooed natives came in crowds to have the new doctrines and new rules of life taught to them. New terms had to be made to express Catholic doctrines in the primitive dialect of savages, and long months were needed to make those terms thoroughly understood. It was needful, too, to remember that Polynesians, like other uncivilized races, are naturally as changeable as children, and need the same care as children. Bishop Rouchouze and his priests spent two years in this task before they admitted the mass of the grown-up natives to baptism. A favorite method of teaching introduced was to have the would-be converts discuss the various points of belief among themselves in the assemblies, which were a common centre of life in Polynesia. It is a hard task, indeed, to change a race of half-cannibal savages into intelligent Christians, but such was the work to be done.

Abstract instruction, besides, was not all that was needed. Morals had to change, as well as beliefs, for any real progress. The French priests found idleness the root of evils in Polynesian life, and they set to work to banish it. Like the old monks, they worked, as well as prayed and taught. They cleared and planted ground, cut stone for building, spun cotton-thread and wove it into muslin, in the short intervals that were left from their work of teaching. The more energetic young men, after a time, began to join in, and insensibly the others followed their example. The little patches of the natives received a larger share of attention, and tracts overgrown with reeds were cleared in every island for new plantations of yams and bread-fruit. The crop was divided equally among all the laborers at harvest-time; and though the primitive wooden spades and shell hoes were the only tools, a great change for the better, materially, was seen in two or three years.

"We built a house of three rooms of stone for the bishop," wrote Father Caret in 1837, "and there is not a native who has not come to admire it. We took occasion from this to suggest the building of churches for God's worship in the same style, and the suggestion was taken up enthusiastically. Ten of the smartest are learning how to cut stone and burn lime, and others are quarrying on the rocks away from the shore. We have also got them to improve their own huts and to sleep on reed and leaf beds, instead of sleeping, as they used, on the ground, to the injury of health. Such are the means we employ to banish idleness."

The change of a population from savage to really civilized life was effected in the Gambiers with scarcely a wrench to the old ways where not criminal in themselves. The occupations urged were only the old ones, except in the interest excited in them. The old gatherings and games were regulated, not abolished; the chiefs, as of old, were heads of public life, but they were taught to govern as Christian men should. The history of the Gambiers recalls the tradition of St. Patrick, when he appointed a mixed commission of priests, bards and brehon lawyers to revise the old Celtic code in Ireland. Whatever was conformable to right human reason was left, and only those maxims directly opposed to Christian morality were removed. The whole system was radically different from that of the Calvinist teachers in other parts of the Pacific. So were its results. "Our population continues to increase," wrote Father Caret in 1841, seven years after his arrival. "In the large island we have had only twenty-two deaths, and forty-eight for the last year." The following year there were fifty-two births and only twenty-two deaths. Civilization was come to the Gambiers in different shape from that in which it had come to Hawaii or Tahiti.

It was a different task, too, for the teachers, from the glowing picture of tropical life mapped out by Dr. Haweis for the London missionaries.

"When we came here," wrote Bishop Rouchouze to the Superior of the Mission Society of Picpus in 1837, "we had no shelter but the sky; no food but that of the natives, often trying to foreign stomachs; no clothes but what we brought. During the first two years we slept on reeds, and had no seats but blocks of stone or wood. I gave baptism once to eighty persons, and the episcopal throne during the ceremony was a section of the backbone of a whale which had been washed ashore some time long forgotten. We have here now a small house and some chairs, but in the other islands our missionaries are destitute of every personal convenience."

To live on potatoes and fish, to sleep in sheds, to patch together their worn-out clothes, to work at stone-cutting, digging and pruning under a tropical sun for three years, is a task against which even convicts would rebel; but it was the life of this bishop and his priests, fresh from the cities and colleges of Catholic France. The longing for churches suitable to divine worship was felt more keenly than that of the things which civilized men think most needed for personal convenience.

"What we are most anxious about is to build churches more decent than the wretched cabins we have had to be satisfied with till now. I should die happy, I think, if I saw a few churches in fit Oceanica in which the August Mysteries might be decently celebrated."

The good bishop's desire was only half gratified. A stone church was built in Gambier a year or two later, but he only heard of it by letter. With all its hardships the mission in Gambier was the one converted land in his diocese of over a thousand islands, and when its people had become a Catholic population the bishop sailed away to begin again work of the same kind in the Marquesas. He secured for two thousand dollars a half interest in a schooner in 1838, and with this at his disposal he visited the various islands of that group, and also Tahiti. Two missions were founded in small islands much as that of Gambier had been begun, but without the same friendly reception. In Vapoo, one of them, the two priests were doomed to death on the occasion of a chief's burial, and only escaped by the chance arrival of a vessel. In Dominica the chief drove them out and plundered their effects. Nearly five years passed before any of the islands showed any willingness to accept the faith of the Catholic missionaries, and long before that the bishop had gone to his reward. The end of persecution in the Hawaiian islands gave him an opportunity to visit them in 1840 and to found the missions there on a permanent footing. For that, however, more priests were a necessity,

and the bishop returned to Europe to recruit them. He gathered twenty-five priests, brothers and nuns, and sailed from France in 1841 full of hope that the whole of Polynesia would be converted and civilized as the Gambiers had already been. But it was not to be. The vessel on which he sailed touched at Destierro, on the east coast of South America, in March, 1842, but was never heard of again. The fate of the first bishop of the Pacific Ocean is one of the mysteries of its waters.

The great ocean had been already divided into two Catholic dioceses. All west of the 160th meridian was put under Bishop Pompallier in 1836. With four Marist priests, he left France for Valparaiso that year. From Valparaiso an American brig carried the missionaries to Tahiti, where they chartered a small schooner to explore the various islands. The bishop intended to establish himself in New Zealand, but he divided his priests in other islands. Father Bataillon and a brother were left in the little group of Wallis, centrally situated between the Samoan and Marquesas islands, and Father Chanel and another companion in Futuna, about a hundred and twenty miles from Wallis. The bishop, with two priests, sailed on to New Zealand.

The two islands were still in their primitive condition when the Catholic priests landed. The Wallis islanders had killed the crew of an English ship three years before, and several of the warriors had obtained guns and axes, but otherwise they were still as when Cook visited the South Seas. Old natives told of seeing the first vessel, which they had taken for a divine visitor. Bishop Pompallier asked the chief's permission to leave two of his people with him, and the chief, after a discussion with his advisers, agreed. There was a spirit of distrust of Europeans, however, and the name of "missionary," which had been confined hitherto to the Protestant teachers, was unpopular in Wallis. An armed expedition from Tonga had come there a few years before to establish a mission by force, but had been defeated, and the native chief resented the invasion. It was not until Father Bataillon had acquired a knowledge of the language that he explained the object of his coming, and then the chief was doubtful and unfriendly. He feared the native deities, who, as he said, gave the cava and bread-fruit, and he was also a polygamist, and disliked the restraints of Catholicity. For many months no impression could be made on the natives in a religious way, though Father Bataillon became widely known. At last a young chief in one of the smaller islands decided to become a Christian. The head chief broke out in anger, and threatened death to any who would leave the worship of

the old gods. The natives were forbidden even to give food to the strangers, for a time, and the bananas of the garden cultivated by themselves were their only resource against starvation. It is a strange picture that the lonely life of the young missionary affords. With one companion, on a remote island of capricious warriors, living in a shed on roots and fruits, working as a gardener hard enough, and meanwhile composing grammar and dictionary for the use of others, Father Bataillon kept on cheerfully for two long years. The tide of public feeling suddenly turned. One native after another, in spite of the king's orders, declared his determination to be a Christian. In the early months of 1840 eight hundred Kanakas had so pronounced themselves, and the king gave up threatening. Within two years the whole population was baptized, and Wallis became, and has remained, a Catholic land. Within five years a single man, unarmed and destitute, had changed the minds of a nation of savages and made them civilized Christians, as they have since remained.

A tragedy came to sadden the solemn reception of Wallis into the Catholic Church. Father Chanel, in Futuna, had lived almost exactly as Father Bataillon in the more populous island, for three and a half years of toil. His mode of living was graphically told by a countryman who visited Futuna in 1840, on his way to New Zealand with other missionaries :

"We came to his house, which was only four walls of bamboo thatched with reeds. The openings between the bamboos gave air and light, for there was no window. The floor was covered with pebbles from the beach, and a log of wood served as a pillow at night, with a sheet of native bark-paper for blanket and protection against the crowds of mosquitoes. There was neither chair nor furniture, except a little altar of rough boards. Some ragged clothes, a few garden tools, and the requisites for divine service were the whole contents of the cabin. There was neither kitchen nor larder, and as I had no lack of appetite I hinted at the need of something to eat. Our host replied that the feast would be a royal one, but that the time depended on his majesty's appetite. A shout was suddenly heard, which was, in fact, the call given us by the monarch of the island. We went to the smoky hut of the sovereign, where we were regaled with potatoes and taro roots, which calmed my appetite without satisfying it. They were, however, Father Chanel's regular food."

So wrote Bishop Epalle in 1845, a few months before receiving his death-wound on the shore of Isabella Island.

It was a strange life indeed for a delicate priest, but lately the head of a diocesan seminary ; but he never flinched from it through over three years of apparently wasted effort. The king would not have Christians among his people. He was considered the representative of a native deity, and "reasons of state" have a place among savages as well as among civilized nations. A few

dying natives baptized, mostly children, were the only result, apparently, of three years' teaching, when at last an impression began to be made. Some young men asked to be instructed, and the chief threatened them fiercely. At last his own son declared that he, too, would be a Christian; and then a band of savage warriors, in a spirit like that which centuries before had made Henry II.'s Norman courtiers murder St. Thomas à Becket, came to Father Chanel's hut to kill. One asked for some ointment for a wound, and as the priest gave it he was struck down by a club. Another savage seized the hatchet used for splitting firewood and buried it in the victim's skull. Oceanica had its first Catholic martyr.

It is very strange, indeed, what followed. The lay brother, Father Chanel's companion, was absent, and a schooner touching at the island carried him to Wallis to tell the martyr's end. The body was rolled in a mat and buried by the murderers, but immediately a movement commenced among the population towards the Christian faith. Father Chanel was murdered on the 28th of April, 1841. The following January one of Father Chanel's colleagues visited Futuna to ask for his body. The natives dug it up and brought it to the ship, and at the same time they declared their sorrow for the crime and asked for a priest to teach them. Bishop Pompallier came to the island a few months later, and found a hundred already familiar with the Catholic doctrines from the instructions of the martyr's converts. The bishop baptized them, and left Father Servant and a lay brother to continue the work. Within eight months three-fourths of the Futunans were instructed and baptized, including the murderers of the first missionary. The island has since remained unshaken in the faith, and one of its natives, Father Gata, was the first Polynesian to receive holy orders, some twenty years ago.

Hawaii on the one hand, and Wallis and the Gambiers on the other, are typical examples of Catholic missions in the Pacific. In the islands where Protestant influences had been firmly established, as Tonga, Fiji, New Zealand and Samoa, the number of Catholic converts has been considerable, but the population steadily declines. Where Catholic faith has been able to form the Polynesian islanders socially as well as individually, thriving communities have been formed, and continue to live and thrive. The difference is a most remarkable one, and the lessons to be learned from it are not confined to the Pacific islanders.

BRYAN G. CLINCH.

THE PROBLEM OF HAPPINESS IN THE LIGHT
OF ECCLESIASTES.

OF all wisdom literature the Book of Ecclesiastes, or Qôhéleth, is the most fascinating to read and the most difficult to understand, the most impressive to quote and the most troublesome to explain. Hardly another book of the Bible has received so much attention on the part of commentators, and has suffered so much at their hands. To begin with the earliest records, the difficulties of Ecclesiastes occasioned considerable discussion in the Jewish synod at Jerusalem, about 65 A.D., and in the subsequent synod at Yabne, about 90 A.D.; the school of Shammai went so far as to decide against the book's canonicity, but the school of Hillel upheld truth and tradition.¹ The negative tendency appealed to the absence of internal signs of inspiration,² alleged apparent contradictions in the book itself,³ tried to establish an opposition between the teaching of Qôhéleth and that of Moses,⁴ and charged Ecclesiastes with a leaning to heresy.⁵ The conservative school showed that the alleged difficulties were only apparent ones, and urged the writer's admonition to fear God, and his doctrine of a future judgment in favor of his inspiration, a dogma which ultimately prevailed.⁶ Among Christian writers it was Theodore of Mopsuestia who first denied the inspired character of Ecclesiastes on the plea that the book teaches human, not divine, wisdom; after Luther had favored the same opinion, Leclerc⁷ rejected Qôhéleth from the Canon on the ground that it teaches the epicurean tenets of the Sadducees. But even a century before the last named writer we meet with the remark, "Difficult as this book is, it is almost more difficult to clear the author of the visionary fancies palmed upon him by his numerous commentators than to develop his meaning."

Thus far we have not much advanced in our task of connecting the doctrine of Ecclesiastes with the problem of human happiness; but if we keep in mind that the various explanations of Qôhéleth depend on the expositor's own view of life, we shall begin to understand that a writer's opinion on the Book of the Preacher is

¹ *Mishna Yadaim*, iii. 5; iv. 6; *Eduyoth*, v. 3.

² *Sabbath*, 30 b; *Megilla*, 7 a.

³ Ii. 2; vii. 3; viii. 5.

⁴ *Eccles.*, xi. 9; *Num.*, xv. 39.

⁵ Cf. *Midrash Rabba on Eccles.*, xi. 9.

⁶ *Aboth d'R. Nathan*, cap. i.

⁷ *Sentiments de quelques Théologiens d'Hollande*, etc., 1685.

a function of his theory on human happiness. And as different schools of philosophy point out different causes of beatitude, different subjects in which it must be sought, different methods of attaining it, and, finally, different ends or motives that must impel us to strive after it, so do different schools of exegesis differ with regard to the author of Qôhéleth, with regard to the contents, the form, and the scope of the book. In the present essay we can state only a few of the contradictory theories that have been put forth on the foregoing four points of controversy, referring the reader to the special treatises on Ecclesiastes¹ for a complete history of the question.

1. As to the authorship : "The Messiah, the true Solomon, who was known by the title of son of David, addresses this book to the saints"; a profligate disseminates his infamous sentiments by assuming in this book the person of Solomon. Again, Solomon published the book in his repentance; Solomon wrote it "when he was irreligious and skeptical during his amours and idolatry." The book was written between the time of Solomon and Jeremias, 975–588;² between the period of Manasses and Sedecias, 699–588;³ at the time of Zorobabel, 536–500;⁴ during the Persian period, 538–333;⁵ under the reign of Artaxerxes I., 465–424;⁶ after the middle of the fifth century, 450–400;⁷ between the time of Nehemias and Alexander, 450–333;⁸ in the latter part of the Persian period, 420–330;⁹ about 400,¹⁰ or towards the end of the Persian period and at the beginning of the Greek, 350–300¹¹ during the reign of Darius Codomannus, 335–333;¹² during Alexander's stay in Palestine, 333;¹³ in the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, 305–247,¹⁴ or about 300 B.C.;¹⁵ between the time of Alexander and Antiochus, 333–164,¹⁶ or during the Syrian and Macha-

¹ Cf. e.g., Ginsburg, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, pp. 27–293, London, 1861; L. van Essen, *Der Prediger Salomo's*, Schafhausen, 1856; B. Schäffer, *Neue Untersuchungen über das Buch Koheleth*, Freiburg, i. B., 1870; A. Motaïs, *Salomon et Ecclesiaste*, Paris, 1876; *L' Ecclesiaste*, Paris, 1877; Rambouillet, *L' Ecclesiaste*, Paris, 1879; G. Bickell, *Der Prediger über den Werth des Daseins*, Innsbruck, 1885; G. Gietmann, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, Paris, 1890; Bernstein, *Quæstiones nonnullæ Kohelethanæ*, Breslau, 1854; Böhly, *De Aramaismis libri Koheleth*, Erlangen, 1860; Bullock, *Commentary and Critical Notes on Ecclesiastes*, Speaker's *Commentary*, London, 1878; O. Zöchler, *Das Hohelied und der Prediger*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1868; Fr. Delitzsch, *Hoheslied und Koheleth*, Leipzig, 1895; Wright, *The Book of Koheleth commonly called Ecclesiastes*, London, 1883.

² Nachtigal. ³ Paulus, Schmidt, Jahn. ⁴ Grotius, Kaiser, Eichhorn.

⁵ Bernstein Hengstenberg. ⁶ Keil. ⁷ Hävernick, Weber, Zöchler.

⁸ Rosenmüller. ⁹ Stähelin, Davidson, Elster, Vaihinger, Castelli, Herfield.

¹⁰ Gerlach. ¹¹ De Wette, Knobel, Schrader, Bleek. ¹² Delitzsch, Wright.

¹³ Burger, Bergst. ¹⁴ Kleinert. ¹⁵ E. Maier.

¹⁶ Bertholdt, Zirkel, Gelbe.

bean period, 300-100;¹ towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, 285-283;² about 210, about 204;³ under Antiochus Epiphanes, 176-163;⁴ during the reign of Herod the Great, 40-4.⁵ Though most of the arguments for these various opinions are derived from internal evidence, and therefore bear directly on the interpretation of Ecclesiastes, still we need not consider them here as such, since they are based on the form, or the scope, or, again, the contents of the book, and fall, therefore, under these respective heads for their treatment. The only views that must here be absolutely rejected are those destructive of the inspired character of Qôhêleth; for it is a dogma of faith that the Preacher is an inspired writer, so that the light he throws on the problem of human happiness is not merely the result of human investigation, but the truth of divine revelation.

2. The literary form of a work is closely connected with its meaning; the former must be clearly determined before the latter can be grasped. Now here again interpreters have arrived at absolutely opposite conclusions: Ecclesiastes, we are told by some, is a dialogue between a pious Hebrew and a Sadducee,⁶ or between a refined sensualist and a sober sage,⁷ or, again, between a Hellenizing Jew impersonating Solomon and a conservative Jew faithful to all the traditions and manners of the ancients. The book is a dramatic discussion between Solomon and a Jewish prophet defending divine providence against the current difficulties of the people;⁸ a wrangle, finally, between Solomon extolling sensual enjoyments as a man's supreme happiness and a sage old Doctor defending the opposite thesis.⁹ Convenient as this view of the literary form of Ecclesiastes may be for answering the difficulties against the orthodoxy of the preacher, it cannot be upheld by its defenders. They do not agree as to the beginning or the end of a single part of the alleged dialogue; and they must confess that the disputants proceed without all logic, since they do not answer their opponent's arguments when they are urged to do so, but return to them after they have been lost sight of. These considerations oppose the view of those too who contend that Ecclesiastes is a monologue indeed, but a monologue between two interior voices, as it were; one is the voice of reason going astray and the other the voice of reason leading to truth, or one is the voice of the human heart at a period of temptation and inward trial and the other the voice of the same human heart

¹ Vatke, Hartmann.

² Schenkel.

³ Hitzig, Bickell.

⁴ Reuss.

⁵ Grätz.

⁶ Leclerc.

⁷ Herder, Eichhorn.

⁸ Rohde.

⁹ Kelle *cf.* Rosenmüller.

at a period of spiritual consolation. The possibility of this literary form in the case of an inspired book once admitted, all certainty as to its real doctrine is destroyed, unless definite criteria be pointed out according to which the various parts of the work can be determined.

The commentator of Ecclesiastes cannot therefore fall into the mistake of a recent theological writer who endeavored to prove the unsoundness of St. Thomas's doctrine by quoting certain chapters of difficulties contained in the Summa; the entire book of Ecclesiastes expresses the real sentiments of the Preacher himself. But this is only the beginning of new trouble, the basis for a new variety of opinions concerning the literary form of Qôhéleth. According to some the book is a medley of heterogeneous fragments belonging to various authors and different ages, a "ruditis indigestaque moles,"¹ at best a chance collection of prophetic songs emanated from various schools of prophets and annotated by a more recent editor;² according to others the book is a prodigy of literary symmetry, consisting of four discourses, each discourse of thirteen sections, each section of thirty-seven strophes and half-strophes of a constant number of verses, recurring according to an invariable law.³ Others again bring literary unity into Qôhéleth by means of transposing some of its parts,⁴ or by rejecting certain portions entirely,⁵ while another class of writers admit a certain unity of drift in the whole book, but deny any logical connection between its parts.⁶ Consistently with the foregoing opinions some interpreters explain Qôhéleth on the basis of the most absolute literary unity; others treat the book as an aggregate of proverbs and prophetic oracles; others again suppose in the work the unity of a piece of music consisting rather in a suite of essays than in a logical development of the same subject.

In the analysis of Ecclesiastes it must be borne in mind that the Hebrew writers always kept to the primitive way of imparting instruction and giving explanation in sentences and maxims, and that accurate and complicated divisions of the subject were unknown to them. Even in the epistles of St. Paul we find the division into a doctrinal part and a practical repeatedly employed instead of the systematic development of a thesis, such as we are accustomed to look for in the sermons of Bossuet or Bourdaloue. If we approach Qôhéleth with this common-sense

¹ Stäudlin, Bruch.

² Nachtigall.

³ Köster, Vaihinger.

⁴ Umbreit, Spohn, Paulus, Bickell.

⁵ Dolus.

⁶ Herder, Eichhorn, Friedländer, Knobel (?).

view of Hebrew literature, we shall be able without much difficulty to discover a division of the book that will at least greatly assist the reader, even if it has not been actually in the mind of the writer. In the prologue¹ Ecclesiastes states the problem of his work ; in the epilogue he summarizes his solution of the problem.² In the body of his work the writer first develops his subject theoretically,³ and then applies his doctrine practically.⁴ While this division commends itself by its simplicity and the equality of its parts, each of which consists of six chapters, it is also necessitated by the division of thought on the part of the writer, and the character of language in the two parts of the book, the first of which proceeds mainly in the third person, the second has the tone of a direct address. We do not, however, exclude from the present work a characteristic found in each collection of Wisdom literature ; there is always a place for disconnected proverbs interspersed among more extended compositions.

3. Thus far we have seen that the light Ecclesiastes throws on the problem of human happiness is not of created, but of divine origin, is not interrupted by the clouds of human error or the darkness of human passion ; and though it does not reach us through the polarizing medium of versified language, it does not resemble the scattered light of the starry firmament by reason of its lack of connection, but like the light of the sun it is continuous, direct, and reaching from end to end. Before we proceed to study the objects manifested by this light we must pay a moment's attention to the color under which they are made visible ; in other words, before we consider the truths taught by Ecclesiastes we must locate the focus around which they are grouped. We are so well accustomed, by this time, to the disagreements of commentators on Qôhéleth, that we shall not be astonished at their difference of view on the scope of the book. Its object, we are told, is to prove the immortality of the soul ;⁵ its design is to deny a future existence. It aims at comforting the unhappy Jews in their misfortune ;⁶ it purports to pour forth the gloomy imaginations of a melancholy misanthrope.⁷ It is intended to open Nathan's speech,⁸ touching the eternal throne of David ; it propounds by anticipation the modern discoveries of anatomy and the Harveian theory of the circulation of the blood. It foretells what will become of man and angels in eternity ; it is a keen satire on Herod casting his son Alexander into prison.⁹ It is a paraphrase of the

¹ i. 1-11.

² xii. 8-12.

³ i. 12, vi. 12.

⁴ vii. 1, xii. 7.

⁵ Desvœux.

⁶ Ewald.

⁷ Knobel.

⁸ I. Par., xvii.

⁹ 8 B.C.

warning "fear God;"¹ it is an apology of divine providence.² It warns against the vanities of life,³ it recommends a proper use of the goods of this world.⁴ What has been said sufficiently illustrates the different conclusions commentators have arrived at concerning the scope of Qôhéleth; and since all of these views are, again, based on internal evidence, they show to some extent the relation of the book to the problem of human happiness. The book really considers the question of divine providence, e.g., it investigates the extent to which man's appetites can be satisfied by earthly goods, it touches upon the immortality of the soul and a future state; but all these are only subordinate questions of the main issue of the writer; they occupy his attention in one chapter or another, but they do not express the drift of his entire treatise. The problem of human happiness is the focus in which meet all the rays of light emitted by Qôhéleth.

After the writer has expressly formulated the question:⁵ "What profit has man of all his labor wherein he labors under the sun,"⁶ he depicts for us the "vast wheel of nature" by placing before our eyes the eternal rounds of coming and going generations, of sunrise and sunset, of south and north wind, of rain and vaporation. Surely, man's life seems to be not a progress, but a treadmill; his labor cannot change the tyranny of the law, for "there is no new thing under the sun." This weariness of life becomes still more painful, because the human heart is a bottomless abyss that cannot be filled with the goods of the world; "the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing." Again, therefore, "what profit has man of all his labor?"

Qôhéleth's theoretic answer to the foregoing question is contained in the first half of his treatise.⁷ Man cannot find happiness in wisdom,⁸ nor in pleasure and wisdom combined,⁹ but God alone can make man happy.¹⁰ For God has appointed a time and season for all things,¹¹ so that human efforts, independent of the divine appointment, are wholly ineffective;¹² in society they cannot remedy the most flagrant cases of injustice¹³ or oppression;¹⁴ in private life success is subject to jealousy,¹⁵ solitude is unprofitable and dangerous,¹⁶ power is uncertain and delusive,¹⁷ devotion is apt to become

¹ Hengstenberg.

² Rohde.

³ Eichhorn, Herder.

⁴ Luther, Jahn, Zirkel, Keil.

⁵ Eccles., i. 3.

⁶ For brevity sake we shall translate our quotations directly from the Hebrew text, instead of first giving the text of our English version and then drawing attention to its shortcomings.

⁷ i. 12-vi. 12.

⁸ i. 13-18.

⁹ ii. 1-23.

¹⁰ ii. 24-26.

¹¹ iii. 1-8.

¹² iii. 9-15.

¹³ iii. 16-22.

¹⁴ iv. 1-3.

¹⁵ iv. 4-6.

¹⁶ iv. 7-11.

¹⁷ iv. 13-16.

exaggerated,¹ riches are at times distressful² and always uncertain.³ Human efforts are, therefore, vain, God alone can give man happiness,⁴ and man must submit to the decrees of providence.⁵

In the second half of his treatise Ecclesiastes shows the practical bearing of the foregoing principles on our daily life. Beginning with the *negative* inferences derived from the principle of total surrender to providence, Qôhéleth shows that the effect of sorrow and suffering on the human heart is commonly more salutary than that of joy and pleasure;⁶ at least, we must be patient in our trials,⁷ since our complaints are useless, dangerous, and even unjust, both women and men having their faults that cannot be imputed to providence.⁸ The first *positive* obligation which the preacher derives from his principles is obedience to the king,⁹ because of the oath of allegiance and the impossibility of resistance.¹⁰ Charges against divine providence cannot release us from the oath of allegiance, since providence will administer justice in the next life,¹¹ and since a number of facts¹² have occasioned false inferences.¹³ An apostrophe showing that wisdom is victorious, but not preferred by the multitude to the folly of the rebels,¹⁴ concludes this part, and forms the transition to the development of the impossibility of resisting authority. The rebel chief is incapable of ruling,¹⁵ he is base and treacherous,¹⁶ he is impotent against existing authority,¹⁷ he is the misfortune of his country whose blessing lies in the person of the rightful king;¹⁸ therefore the obligation of loyalty to the king.¹⁹ The second positive duty urged by Ecclesiastes on his readers is that of resisting the very causes of rebellion: inactivity, sadness of heart, and irritation against providence. The first is removed by assiduous labor,²⁰ the second by cheerfulness of heart,²¹ the third by a life of virtue,²² all else is vanity.²³

In the epilogue Qôhéleth first gives us a glimpse of himself; he was wise, and a teacher of the people; in his former capacity he "pondered and sought out, and set in order many proverbs"; as a teacher, he aimed to speak at once words that would please, and words which were true.²⁴ The writer considers this as an important hint; for while the words of the wise are at once goads to the intellect and stakes that uphold the soul, "there is no end" "of making many books" on the part of the would-be-wise, "and much reading is a weariness of the flesh" for the poor student.²⁵

¹ iv. 17-v. 8.

² v. 9-11.

³ v. 12-16.

⁴ v. 17-vi. 6.

⁵ vi. 7-12.

⁶ vii. 1-7.

⁷ viii. 8-12.

⁸ viii. 13-29.

⁹ viii. 1-2.

¹⁰ viii. 3-5.

¹¹ viii. 6-8.

¹² viii. 9-17.

¹³ ix. 1-12.

¹⁴ ix. 13-18.

¹⁵ x. 1-4.

¹⁶ x. 5-7.

¹⁷ x. 8-13.

¹⁸ x. 14-19.

¹⁹ x. 20.

²⁰ xi. 1-6.

²¹ xi. 7-9.

²² xi. 10-xii. 7.

²³ xii. 8.

²⁴ xii., 9-10.

²⁵ xii., 11-12.

To summarize, therefore, his solution of the problem, the Preacher concludes, "Fear God, and keep His commandments, for this is the whole of man." The summary of principles by means of which all difficulties may be solved is equally brief: "God shall bring every work into judgment, with every hidden thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil."¹

4. We have determined the scope of Ecclesiastes, the literary form, and the author, so far as these questions bear on the relation of the book to the problem of human happiness. It remains now to consider the contents or the matter of the work, taking matter in the sense of doctrine. After all that has been said, we need not delay over the opinion of those who regard the book as an expression of the lamentations of Solomon, together with his prophetic visions of the ruin of the royal house of David, the destruction of the temple, and the captivity; nor need we refute the contention that Ecclesiastes is "a chronicle of the lives of the kings of the house of David from Solomon down to Sedecias." At this stage of our study we understand also, without further explanation, in what sense the Book of Qôhêleth can be called a treatise on the "summum bonum," or a description of the beautiful order of God's moral government, showing that all things work together for the good of them that love the Lord. But the point that needs explanation is the nexus between the Preacher's question and his answers. The question reads, "What profit has man of all his labor wherein he labors?"² The answer is three-fold: 1. "All is vanity"; 2. "Fear God and keep His commandments"; 3. "God shall bring every work into judgment." The first of these answers is negative, stating wherein the profit of man's labors cannot consist; the second answer is positive, and contains the ordinary solution of the problem; the third is also positive, but hypothetic as it were, supplying the solution of the problem in those instances in which the second answer is found unsatisfactory. We begin now to study these answers separately.

(1) "All is vanity"; but what is vanity cannot constitute man's profit for his labor; therefore (all cannot, or) nothing can constitute man's profit for his labor. Here we have the nexus between the inspired writer's question and his first answer; the full bearing of the conclusion however, will become more apparent by an investigation of its premises. What is the extent of "all" concerning which vanity is predicated?³ On reading the book, we find that concerning certain subjects the Preacher predicates

¹ xii. 13-14.

² i. 3.

³ i. 2; xii. 3.

vanity without assigning any further reason; concerning others he gives the reason for his opinion, and in the case of a third class of subjects he proves their vanity without stating this conclusion explicitly.

The following passages may serve as instances in which both reason and conclusion are stated: "I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold, all is vanity and a striving after wind (useless study). That which is crooked cannot be made straight (by means of wisdom), and that which is wanting cannot be numbered" (or, wisdom cannot change the objective realities or deficiencies of things).¹ Again, the writer says of wisdom: "And I applied my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly; I perceived that this also was a striving after wind. For in much wisdom is much grief, and he that adds knowledge adds sorrow."² Wisdom is therefore rightly numbered among the vanities of life. Qôhêleth next proceeds to state his experience with regard to pleasure: "I said in my heart, Go to now, I will try thee with mirth; therefore enjoy pleasure; and behold, this also was vanity. I said of laughter, It is mad, and of mirth, What doeth it?"³ And again: "Then said I in my heart, as it happens to the fool, so it will happen even to me; and why was I then more wise (why did I join wisdom with my pleasure)? Then I said in my heart, that this also was vanity."⁴ Then considering the grand enterprises he had successfully carried through in order to secure his pleasure, the Preacher continues: "And who knows whether he (my heir) shall be a wise man or a fool? Yet, he shall have rule over all my labor wherein I have showed wisdom under the sun. This also is vanity."⁵ After stating this last argument in a somewhat modified form a second time,⁶ the writer reflects on the condition of the man toiling for the satisfaction of his love of pleasure: "All his days are but sorrows, and his travail is grief, yea, even in the night his heart takes no rest. This also is vanity."⁷ Pursuing our investigation we strike a passage in which God alone is represented as the author of man's happiness, and in which man's labor is said to be of no avail. In proving this last statement, Ecclesiastes writes: "That which befalls the sons of men, befalls beasts; one lot befalls them; as the one dies, so dies the other; yea, they have all one breath; and man has no pre-eminence over the beasts; for all is vanity."⁸ We notice here that premise and conclusion are inverted; since all is vain and nothing can satisfy the longings of man,

¹ i. 14, 15.

² i. 17, 18.

³ ii. 1, 2.

⁴ ii. 15.

⁵ ii. 19.

⁶ ii. 21.

⁷ ii. 23.

⁸ iii. 19.

he is in the helpless condition of the beast as far as his happiness is concerned. The writer next depicts the successless endeavors of man to remedy unjust oppression, and the jealousy on the part of his neighbors that will follow his chance success. Is man therefore to lead a life of seclusion? Here is the verdict of Qôhêleth: "Then I returned and saw vanity under the sun. There is one that is alone, and he has no second; yea, he has neither son nor brother; yet, there is no end of all his labor, neither are his eyes satisfied with riches. For whom then (says he) do I labor, and deprive my soul of good? This also is vanity."¹ Perhaps riches of themselves can fill the soul of man; the Preacher dispels this doubt of the reader at its first appearance: "He that loveth silver, shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loveth abundance, with increase; this also is vanity."² And to do away with any notion that independently of God the goods of life can make man happy, the inspired writer returns, as it were, to the subject: "There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is heavy upon men; a man to whom God giveth riches, wealth, and honor, so that he lacketh nothing for his soul of all that he desires, yet God giveth him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eats it; this is vanity."³

The second class of passages in which Qôhêleth predicates vanity of things without stating any other reason than his own experience or opinion, is represented mainly by the following texts: "Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labor that I had labored to do: and behold, all was vanity and a striving after wind, and there was no profit under the sun."⁴ The writer considers it so important to convince his reader of the futility of the spirit of enterprise with the view of securing one's own happiness that, not satisfied with giving several proofs for his statement, and appealing to his own experience in its confirmation, he states the result of his experiment a second time: "So I hated life, because the work that is wrought under the sun was grievous unto me; for all is vanity and striving after wind."⁵ The next appeal to his own experience Ecclesiastes makes where he mentions the jealousy he suffered on the part of his neighbor: "Then I saw all labor and every skilful work, that for this a man is envied of his neighbor; this also is vanity and a striving after wind."⁶ It is not always his individual experience that the Preacher advances in proof of his statements; at times, universal experience and common sense form the basis

¹ iv. 7, 8.

² v. 9.

³ vi. 1-2.

⁴ ii. 11.

⁵ ii. 17.

⁶ iv. 4.

of the argument: "There was no end of all the people," the writer says when speaking of a dead or dethroned ruler, "even of all them over whom he was; yet they that come after shall not rejoice in him. Surely this also is vanity and a striving after wind."¹ The proverb preferring a bird in the hand to two in the bush is expressed by Ecclesiastes in this way: "Better is the sight of the eyes (*i.e.*, the good actually seen and possessed) than the wandering of the desire; this also is vanity and a striving after wind."² In the "History of Sinkarib and his two viziers"³ we read the admonition: "Son, neither speak nor laugh loud; for if noise could build a house, the ass would build several every day." Ecclesiastes expresses a similar contempt for a senseless exercise of the vocal organs: "As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool; this also is vanity."⁴ Were we to enter into the exegetic intricacies of the next passage, we should add a new cause of complaint to this "weary world." For our purpose the following probable rendering will prove sufficient: "And withal I saw the wicked buried, and they passed away; they had departed from the holy place, and their conduct was forgotten in the city; this also is vanity."⁵ A similar sentiment is expressed a few verses further on: "There is a vanity which is done upon the earth, that there are righteous men unto whom it happens according to the work of the wicked; again, there are wicked men to whom it happens according to the work of the righteous: I said that this also is vanity."⁶ Finally, the Preacher holds up a sad picture of old age: "If a man live many years, let him rejoice in them all; but let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many. All that comes is vanity."⁷

A third class of passages touches upon such gloomy points of life that only the premises need be stated in order to render the moral darkness palpable; here, therefore, Qôhêleth refrains from an explicit expression of the conclusion. A few examples will render our meaning clear to the reader. "What profit has he that works in that wherein he labors? I have seen the travail which God has given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith. He has made everything beautiful in its time; also he has set the world in their heart; yet so, that man cannot find out the work that God has done from the beginning even to the end."⁸ This gloomy aspect of the intellectual efforts of man is still more

¹ iv. 16.

² vi. 9.

³ Cf. *Geschichten und Lieder aus den aramäischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Weimar, 1896.

⁴ vii. 7.

⁵ viii. 10.

⁶ viii. 14.

⁷ xi. 8.

⁸ iii. 9-II.

darkened by man's social evils : "Then I returned and saw all the oppressions that are done under the sun ; and behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter ; and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive ; yea, better than both them (did I esteem) him who has not yet been, who has not seen the evil work that is done under the sun."¹ But the gloom of existence encircles perhaps only the weak and the poor ; the fate of the rich and powerful may be quite satisfactory. "This also is a grievous evil," answers the Preacher, "that in all points as he came, so shall he go ; and what profit has he that he labors for the wind ? Moreover, all his days he eats in darkness, and he is sore vexed, and has sickness and wrath."² It is not only the individual and the social life that is thus beset with unspeakable difficulties ; unless there be a special protection of providence, the domestic life may become more burdensome than either. "I find a thing more bitter than death," adds Qôhéleth, "(even) the woman whose heart is snares and nets, whose hands are bands ; whoever pleases God shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her. Behold, this have I found, saith the Preacher, putting one thing to another, to find out the reason of things —which my soul still seeks, but I have not found : one man among a thousand have I found, but a woman among all those have I not found."³

Thus far we have determined, in the light of the Preacher's own development, the comprehension of the word "all" which forms the subject of his first answer, "all is vanity," given to the question, "what profit has man of all his labor wherein he labors under the sun." We have found that "all" includes all earthly goods taken apart from God's influence ; independently of God man cannot procure his happiness either as an individual, or as a member of the family, or again as member of the state. The heart of the individual will not be satisfied with wisdom, or pleasure, or wealth, or the combination of all of these ; the state will naturally either cause, or at least not prevent, certain practices of injustice and oppression and rivalry ; the family, finally, apart from God will prove "more bitter than death." It is on account of this doctrine that the Preacher has been charged with moral scepticism, or even cynicism. But the sceptic questions the certainty of our knowledge, while Ecclesiastes points out the limits of science, its ineffi-

¹ iv. 1-3.

² v. 16-17.

³ vii. 26-28.

cieney to bring about moral reform, and its inadequacy of satisfying the human heart; similarly, there is a world-wide difference between the cynic who denies all moral worth and disinterestedness of motive and the writer who merely grants the existence of moral evil in society, both domestic and civil. It is true, that even an inspired writer may give expression to more or less so-called pessimistic views; but if the Book of Ecclesiastes be judged according to its whole doctrine on human happiness, if we make no abstraction from its positive answer to the question, "what profit has man of all his labor," we shall find enough of creature comfort urged on us by its principles to satisfy even an exacting optimist.

(2) The profit of man's labor or his earthly happiness depends entirely on God; but God will grant it to those that fear Him and keep His commandments; therefore, "fear God, and keep His commandments." Here we have the nexus between Qôhéleth's question and his second or positive answer. We shall see, however, that an investigation of the premises of this argument will throw considerable light on the teaching of Ecclesiastes. We suppose that the cogency of the argument will not be questioned on account of its defect of form or its assumption that man must be happy. The form¹ has been couched in the terminology of Ecclesiastes for the convenience of the reader; the terms can be translated into dialectically exact expressions without altering the material meaning of the propositions. As to the assumption of the need of man's happiness, it is expressly stated by Qôhéleth himself: "If a man beget a hundred children, and live many years, so that the days of his years be many, but his soul be not filled with good, and moreover he have no burial: I say that an untimely birth is better than he; for it comes in vanity, and departs in darkness, and its name is covered with darkness; besides, it has not seen the sun nor known it; this has rest rather than the other."² Hence only the major and the minor premise need further examination.

The texts that bear on the major premise state not only the supreme dominion of divine providence over man's happiness, but they describe also the object of the latter. "There is nothing better for a man (than) that he should eat and drink, and make

¹ In strictly dialectic form the argument reads: Man's earthly happiness is a good that depends on God alone; but man can obtain the good depending on God alone only by fearing and obeying God; therefore, man can attain earthly happiness only by fearing and obeying God.

² vi. 3-5.

his soul enjoy good in his labor. This also I saw that it is from the hand of God."¹ The drift of these words is repeated again and again throughout the "Book of the Preacher." As in the foregoing passage it concludes the section describing the vanity of pleasure and enterprise, so it forms the practical conclusion of the passage on human inability to remedy the injustice of society,² and of the section concerning the vanity of riches.³ Once it assumes a negative form: "A man to whom God giveth riches, wealth, and honor, so that he lacks nothing for his soul of all that he desires, yet God gives him not power to eat thereof, but a stranger eats it; this is vanity."⁴ Again, it occurs in passages referring to God's providence: "I know that there is nothing better for them than to rejoice, and to do good (*i.e.*, to enjoy pleasure), so long as they live. And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy good in all his labor, is the gift of God."⁵ Then the same truth is inculcated by contrast, as it were: "In the day of prosperity be joyful, and in the day of adversity consider; God has made the one, side by side with the other, to the end that man should not find out anything that shall be after him."⁶ Finally, Qôhéleth is not forgetful of the part that man himself must contribute to his own happiness: "Rejoice, O young man in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thy eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment."⁷

While the foregoing passages insist on the fact that God dispenses human happiness, they also show what is the object in which man is to place his happiness on earth. To summarize the teaching of the Preacher on this point, he believes that man's earthly happiness is to consist in the natural satisfaction that accompanies the exercise of his faculties and the state of his present condition. The sensible feeling of this satisfaction may and does vary in various faculties and various subjects; the glutton will not relish the intricacies of metaphysics as much as the delights of the table, and the mathematician may perceive a keener satisfaction in the solution of a problem than in the sport of the huntsman; the jockey may jump things because he is afraid, and his pleasure of getting over the fence is worth an occasional spill. It is, therefore, this pleasant excitement providence has connected with the exercise of our faculties, whether they be intellectual

¹ ii. 24-25.² iii. 22.³ v. 18 ff.⁴ vi. 2.⁵ iii. 12-13; *Cf.* viii. 15.⁶ vii. 14.⁷ xi. 9.

or sensual, which, according to Qôhéleth, must form the basis of our earthly happiness. It is true that the conditions of men vary, and that different men are called upon to exercise different faculties; but then it must be kept in mind that the child may feel happier over his rattle than the monarch over his throne and crown; "the sleep of the laboring man is sweet, whether he eat little or much, but the fullness of the rich will not suffer him to sleep."¹ And if the human heart be content and happy, what difference does it make whether the satisfaction be based on a great amount of what is really external to human nature, or be produced by small exterior goods. "Better is an handful with quietness than two handfuls with labor and striving after wind."²

Before proceeding further we must answer a difficulty that has been lurking in the mind of the reader for some time. In the preceding pages we showed that, according to Ecclesiastes, "all is vanity," the "all" including all earthly goods taken independently of God; in the last paragraph we maintained, on the contrary, that all human labor includes a satisfaction sufficient for human happiness. How are we to explain this apparent discrepancy? In the first place, there is quite a difference between the subjects of the two apparently contradictory propositions; the phrase "all earthly goods taken independently of God" conveys a meaning entirely distinct from that of the clause "all human labor." Now the reader cannot be astonished at seeing different predicates attributed to entirely different subjects. A study of the matter from another point of view will show that this answer is not a mere dialectic quibble. We do not believe that the reader will find a real contradiction between the following two statements: "The sound of no single organ-pipe, or of all organ-pipes together, taken independently of the mind of the organist, is the ordinary constituent of harmony"; and, on the other hand, "each organ-pipe, properly touched, emits a sound that is in itself a sufficient factor of harmony." Now what the sound, however continuous, of each single organ-pipe or of all the pipes touched simultaneously, is with regard to harmony, that is the relation of any single earthly good, or of all earthly goods taken together, with regard to man's happiness. And again, as each organ-pipe emits a sound in itself sufficient to become the factor of musical harmony under the proper direction of the musician, so does every human action and condition produce a feeling of satisfaction that may, at least temporarily, satisfy the human heart, if

¹ v. 12.

² iv. 6.

properly disposed by divine providence. And thus it comes about that God elicits the most beautiful as well as the most varied harmony from the heart of man, from some a continuous "Dies iræ," from others a perpetual "Gloria in excelsis," from others, again, harmonies that interchange between the "Miserere" and "Alleluia," according to the season of the ecclesiastical year; but from every heart there ascends, as far as God's providence is concerned, a continuous music that excels the harmonies of the spheres as much as spirit transcends matter. To return to the language of Ecclesiastes, we find the summary of his doctrine on human happiness expressed in the words: "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God has already accepted thy works. Let thy garments be always white, and let not thy head lack ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he has given thee under the sun, all the days of thy vanity; for that is thy portion in life, and in thy labor wherein thou laborest under the sun."¹

A second exception is, at times, taken to the doctrine of Qôhéleth as stated in the last paragraph; we are told that such a view of life and happiness radically destroys all high ideals of action. Why should men exert themselves to their utmost, if they can be happier with less labor and trouble? There is a semblance of truth in our opponents' observation; from a merely intellectual point of view, man might aspire to a higher standard of life, if a less degree of what is called culture did not confer earthly happiness on him. But then man is not all intellect, as he is not all will, nor all matter. Human happiness must reckon not only with man's higher faculties, but also with his lower needs and powers. He requires something not only "de rore cœli," but also a good deal "de pinguedine terræ," in order to feel comfortable. And we are really inclined to believe that Qôhéleth knew human nature better than our opponents do; the former takes man as he finds him in the concrete, the latter reason "a priori" on what man might be if he were an angel, or if he were to live here forever. It may not be pleasant to be told that the fabric of this world is beyond and above one; but, at the same time, it would be folly to attempt a remodeling of the wheel of nature at the expense of one's success in life.

Thus far we have considered Qôhéleth's major premise "man's happiness of life depends entirely on God." The next statement

¹ ix. 7-9.

that God will grant happiness to those who fear Him and keep His commandments needs less explanation, for we know that throughout the Old Testament virtue and vice are spoken of as being visibly rewarded on earth. God declared at the very giving of the law that He will show mercy to thousands of those who love Him and keep His commandments, and visit the iniquity of those who hate Him to the third and fourth generation.¹ The whole of Lev. xxvi. and of Deut. xxviii., are replete with promises of earthly blessings to those who will walk in the way of the Lord, and threatenings of temporal afflictions upon those who shall transgress His law. The faithful fulfillment of these promises and threats in the early stages of the Jewish history convinced every Israelite that "God judges the righteous, and is angry with the wicked every day." This belief is spread over the whole Old Testament like a net of fine threads; in his turn, Qôhêleth appeals to it repeatedly. Almost in the very beginning of the book, after God has been represented as the author of human happiness, we are warned: "To the man that pleases Him, God gives wisdom, and knowledge, and joy; but to the sinner He gives travail to gather and to heap up, that He may give to him that pleases God."² Later on, the writer treats of the difficulty of steering the middle course between excess of austerity and excess of joyousness, and again adds: "He that fears God shall come forth of them all."³ A few lines below there is question of a new danger; how is man to avoid the choice of a companion of life that will make his domestic state "more bitter than death?" "Whoever pleases God," is the answer of Qôhêleth, "shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her."⁴ Even obedience to the civil ruler, rendered for the sake of God, will find its reward in this life: "Keep the king's command, and that in regard of the oath of God. . . . Whoever keepeth the commandment, shall know no evil thing, and a wise man's heart discerns time and judgment."⁵ Since, therefore, God alone can give man happiness, and since He gives it only to those who fear Him and keep His commandments, Qôhêleth rightly concludes: "Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole man."⁶

(3) We have considered Qôhêleth's negative answer to his own question "what profit has man of all his labor"; we have reviewed also his positive answer to the question, and found that it opposes the first answer only apparently. But there is a practical difficulty

¹ Ex. xx. 5, 6.

⁴ vii. 26.

² ii. 26.

⁵ viii. 2, 5.

³ vii. 18.

⁶ xii. 13.

that is not only not soluble by the light of the Preacher's second answer, but is rendered more manifest and even palpable. By limiting the bar of judgment to this side of the grave, the inspired writer yields no explanation of, or succor under, the distracting sight of the righteous suffering all their life, and then dying for their righteousness, and of the wicked prospering and prolonging their days through their wickedness. These facts are not at all unknown to Qôhéleth : " And moreover," he says,¹ " I saw under the sun, in the place of judgment, that wickedness was there ; and in the place of righteousness, that wickedness was there." The suffering caused by this perversion of order is described thus : " Then I returned and saw all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter ; and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter."² At times the writer insists on the ineffectiveness of virtue with regard to happiness of life : " What advantage has the wise man more than the fool ?"³ and again, " there is a righteous man that perishes in his righteousness";⁴ at other times he urges the apparently inverted ratio between virtue and happiness : " There are righteous men unto whom it happens according to the work of the wicked, and there are wicked men, to whom it happens according to the work of the righteous."⁵ Towards the end of the book we are repeatedly warned that vice and virtue have no influence on man's earthly happiness : " There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, to the good and to the clean and to the unclean, to him that sacrifices and to him that sacrifices not there is one event unto all."⁶ A little further on the writer seems to contend explicitly that all depends on chance, not on providence : " The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill, but time and chance happen to them all. For man also knows not his time ; as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare, even so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falls suddenly upon them."⁷ The seeming opposition between theory and experience is stated once more : " Then said I, Wisdom is better than strength ; nevertheless, the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard."⁸

The psalms that were written under such distressing circum-

¹ iii. 16.

² iv. 1.

³ vi. 8.

⁴ vii. 15.

⁵ viii. 14.

⁶ ix. 2 ff.

⁷ ix. 11-12.

⁸ ix. 16.

stances¹ endeavor to allay the prevailing scepticism in the moral government of God, by declaring that the righteous shall ultimately prosper, and that the wicked shall ultimately be cut off in great misery. Even the Book of Job, which so successfully shows that not all suffering is owing to the vindictive justice of God, but that some afflictions are mere trials of virtue and others are of the nature of a preventive medicine, only confirms the opinion that the righteous are visibly rewarded here, inasmuch as it represents their calamities as transitory, and Job himself as restored to double his original wealth and happiness in this life. What truth there is in the opinion we hear at times expressed that the other Old Testament books do not appeal to any reward or punishment in the next life we cannot here investigate; at any rate, Qôhéleth solves the riddle of the distribution of pain and pleasure in this life by an appeal to the judgment of God in the next. Here, then, is the connection of Qôhéleth's third answer, with his question "what profit has man of all his labor?" It would be against the wisdom and goodness of God that man should have no reward for his good deeds; but experience shows that, at times, man has no reward for his labor in this life; therefore "God shall bring every work into judgment" in the next life. Ecclesiastes supposes the first statement to be evident from the principles of common sense; he appeals to his own experience, as we have seen, for the second statement; the conclusion will solve the difficulty satisfactorily on the supposition that what is adjusted by God himself in the next life will satisfy all the demands of justice and equity.

It has been often denied that Qôhéleth admits the existence of a future life; a few remarks on the texts connected with this question will therefore not be out of place. When Ecclesiastes sees wickedness in the place of judgment, he consoles himself with the consideration: "I said in my heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked; for there is a time there for every purpose and for every work."² But why, then, does God allow this perversion of the moral order? "I said in my heart, it is because of the sons of men that God may prove them, and that they may see that for themselves" (*i.e.*, to procure their own earthly happiness) "they are but as beasts." And how does Qôhéleth prove this statement? "For the sons of men are subject to chance, and the beasts are subject to chance; even one destiny befalls them: as the one dies, so dies the other; yea, they have all one breath,

¹ E. g., Pss. xxxvi., xlvi., lxxii.

² iii. 17.

and" (in this respect) "man has no pre-eminence above the beasts."¹ This equality of condition is still further confirmed: "All go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all return to dust again."² And now an exception occurs to the mind of Qôhéleth: Is not the spirit of man immortal, and does not, therefore, man excel the beast in spite of all that has been said to the contrary? The writer rules this objection out of court; he is dealing now with the world of sense, subject to our experience, while the soul's immortality is above the domain of sense: "and who sees the spirit of man that goes upward, and the spirit of the beast that goes downward to the earth?"³ This hope of a future adjustment of all that appears to be wrong in the present course of the world is expressed repeatedly by the Preacher: "There is no man that has power over the spirit to retain the spirit, neither has he power over the day of death; and there is no discharge in that war; neither shall wickedness deliver him that is given to it."⁴ The slowness of God's judgment appeared, at times, very grievous to Ecclesiastes, but in this trial, too, he sought consolation at the same source: "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil. Though a sinner do evil a hundred times, and prolongs his days, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him; but it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong (his) days, (which are) as a shadow, because he fears not before God."⁵ If we turn to the end of the book, we find that the Preacher insists on the same doctrine: "but know thou," he tells the young man whom he had exhorted to cheerfulness, "that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment."⁶ Again, after a description of old age, the writer adds: "man goes to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets; and the silver cord is loosed, and the golden bowl is broken, and the pitcher is broken at the fountain, and the wheel broken at the cistern; and the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it."⁷

There is a passage in the book to which unbelieving commentators often appeal in order to show that the Preacher did not admit any reward in the future life; a sensible paraphrase of the text gives it a quite different meaning: "To him that is joined with all the living there is hope," for whatever his present sufferings

¹ iii. 19.

² iii. 20.

³ iii. 21.

⁴ viii. 8.

⁵ viii. 11-13.

⁶ xi. 9.

⁷ xii. 5-8.

may be, the morrow may bring a change in his condition. The fate of the dead is fixed forever, and no more susceptible of improvement; hence the old proverb, "A living dog is better than a dead lion." "For the living know that they shall die," and have therefore an additional stimulus of action in this thought; "but the dead know not anything" of this kind, "neither have they any more reward" for the good they may accomplish. On earth "the memory of them is forgotten," so that their reward does not consist in earthly honors. "As well their love, as their hatred and their envy, is now perished," so that their present state is wholly different from their earthly condition, though the writer does not describe it according to its positive properties; hence he continues, in the same negative strain, "neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun."¹ Like other inspired writers of the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes only maintains that our future state of life shall not have the labors and enjoyments of the present; even the New Testament finds it more convenient to state that neither eye nor ear has perceived the delights of our condition after death than to describe the same positively.

To systematize, therefore, the doctrine of the Preacher on the problem of human happiness, we may reduce it to the following statements: 1. Man cannot be happy on earth by mere enjoyment of earthly goods, whether they pertain to his lower or his higher life, whether they be enjoyed singly or collectively. 2. Man's earthly happiness consists in the satisfaction and delight which God has coupled with the exercise of the human faculties as long as it harmonizes with the call of man's duty; hence the practical formula of this principal reads, "fear God, and keep his commandments." 3. When, owing to adverse circumstances, the performance of one's duty implies suffering rather than happiness, one is not therefore to abandon one's post, but rather rejoice in hope; "for God shall bring every work into judgment, with every hidden thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

Even with these leading ideas before us, the Book of Ecclesiastes presents many difficulties, springing either from the present state of its text, or the connection of its incidental proverbs and snatches of poetry with the general drift of the work. The former source of trouble has been amply illustrated throughout this paper; we subjoin here a poetic allegory as an illustration of the latter, following Bickell's theory of the Hebrew verse:

¹ ix. 4-6.

"Now come the days of evil,
And years of lack of pleasure,
When sun and moon are hidden,
New clouds end every rainfall.

"The house protectors tremble,
The men of strength grow feeble,
The window-light now darkens,
The street-doors have been bolted.

"The mill sounds, sparrows twitter,
The daughters of song fly low,
Afraid of airy regions,
Of terror by the wayside.

"The grinders lessen and cease,
The almond-tree shall blossom,
The grasshopper be burdened,
The caperberry shall fail."¹

The foregoing lines are easily understood by the reader if he remembers that the whole passage refers to the infirmities of old age ; the house protectors are the arms, the men of strength are the limbs, the window-light represents the eyes, the street-doors typify the ears, the mill is the mouth, the daughters of song are the lips, the grinders are the teeth, the blossom of the almond-tree is the grey hair, the burdened grasshopper is the stooped frame, the dissolution of the over-ripe caperberry symbolizes the general decrepitude of the human body.

If, then, the Book of Qôhéleth bristles with difficulties, where is the secret of its charm that has attracted so many readers ? First, the work treats of a subject that is nearest and dearest to every heart ; secondly, the treatise has been written by an author, however secondary may be the human authorship of an inspired book, who has lived the doctrine he teaches ; he has experienced the alternate pendulum-like attraction and repulsion which the human heart feels with regard to the pleasures of sense ; he knows the dry hollowness of human wisdom and science ; he has tasted the intoxication and supreme annoyance of power ; he has found out the anxiety and care involved in the possession of riches ; he knows from experience that "all is vanity." Not to develop our statement with regard to the writer's second and third principle, we may draw the reader's attention to another little trait of Qôhéleth in order to vindicate him against the charge of selfishness. We rather indicate the passages than quote them : "Two are better than one, because they have a good reward for their labor. . . ."²

¹ xii. 1-5.

² iv. 9 ff.

Again, life's happiness is not to be a single-blessedness: "Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest. . . ."¹ Finally, even the family is not to keep the blessing of its earthly happiness to its own circle alone: "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days. Give a portion to seven, yea, even unto eight, for thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth."²

A. J. MAAS, S.J.

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE, MD.

THE CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES; ITS ORIGIN, MEANING, AND RITE.

THE mission of the Church is amongst men, in all their variety of change, of personal influences, of national prejudices. Now it may be laid down as practically true that conversion comes by the will rather than by the intellect. The will has to be enlisted before even the strongest evidence of truth can work its natural influence on the mind. If the will and the sentiment be not disposed to hearken, criticism and dialectics will be invoked in vain. No man, unless perhaps some monomaniac among the stoics, has ever turned into a new course of life on the mere conclusion of a syllogism. We are not mere thinking-machines. Our sentiment has as much to do with the shaping of our lives as our thoughts. And why not? Is it not as much a part of the whole man as our reason? On the one hand reason reins it in, and on the other hand sentiment controls reason, inasmuch as it may leave it unclouded or may warp it by predisposing influences, just as we may by the influence of personal affection turn another aside from what might be a settled conviction if left to himself. It would seem that for such a purpose our Divine Lord left with his Church the discretion of accidental development. Certain elements he established, and these have remained untouched. He formed, for instance, its essential constitution; He instituted the Sacraments, with the matter and form of each; He made it the

¹ ix. 9.

² xi. 1, 2.

depository of the fulness of revelation from the day of Pentecost. But when and under what circumstances it should lay the several truths of that revelation before the world with the seal of infallibility which He gave it ; under what formulæ it should declare them to the faithful ; what forms external worship should take ; with what ceremonies it should invest the administration of the Sacraments ; in short, the formation of its liturgy—these things the Church was to provide according to the needs of the faithful, their disposition, the temper of the times, the genius of a people. There is in the Church, therefore, an element that is unchangeable and an element that is variable, just as, in natural objects, there is the substantial form which remains and the accidental form which may come and go, the object itself preserving its identity throughout.

In the process of development through which the liturgy of the Church has come to us we have evidence of the prudence of its pastors, and can discern the finger of God. Many have been led into the Church not so much by direct proofs of its Divine origin as attracted by the beauty and harmony of its ceremonial. Nor must it be thought that theirs is not a reasonable submission. Why should there not be a religious instinct as well as a natural instinct ? How many things do we not daily do for which we can offer no reason to another, and yet are convinced that we are right—a deeper conviction than is begotten of syllogisms ? It is the logic of instinct, of common sense. Why do we love to dwell in the midst of one scenery more than another, sit before a masterpiece and turn away our eyes from a daub, but that our æsthetic sense tells us it should delight us more ? If we should further inquire why the former should please us more, we at once pass into the region of reason and become prosaic. The spell is broken, the curious charm has departed, as when a child breaks up a music-box and finds within the evidence of a well-arranged and instructive mechanism, but learns to regret the unwise curiosity that has destroyed the music. God has given us a sense of the beautiful, and not without a purpose ; it is to enable us to discern an ideal in the beauty of nature or art, and that ideal is the reflex of Him who is beauty itself. God has given us the faculty of reasoning from the things which we see to the things which we do not see ; so He has given us also a mysterious faculty which takes us from nature to God by linking in our feelings the created and the uncreated beauty, without bidding us to go through the prosaic process of disputing every inch, of asking the reason why at every step we take.

It is only in a certain class of minds that the structure and composition of the liturgy and ceremonial of the Church have that attractive influence. They are those to whom nature has given a vivid imaginative faculty, and who have carefully improved it by a certain amount of liturgical knowledge. It is an accident of character which, though it is a privilege to have, it is no demerit to want. But those in whom this faculty has been improved by culture are often drawn into the fold of Christ by some unaccountable influence and at once, or become well-disposed to give it a fair trial before the tribunal of their judgment, by the persuasive beauty or the suggestive reality which they discern in the Catholic ceremonial. Protestantism has produced nothing like it. The best attempt of Protestantism to construct a liturgy is the Anglican prayer-book, and that is little more than a rude plagiarism of the Roman breviary. The accommodated sense of Holy Scripture, of its psalms and its parables, is woven into the ceremonial of the Sacraments and the sacramentals with an intuition of its spirit which brings out its meaning in the various phases of our spiritual life from the baptismal font to the graveyard. It is only a tradition drawn from the school of Christ himself when He was here, and preserved by the Holy Spirit when he had gone, that could so manifest the reality of His religion before men, and weave its supernatural character into the daily careers of human existence. No externs could do it. They may learn a good many things about it from the writings of the Fathers and from the letter of the Gospels as a school-boy learns grammar, but they can never take in the fulness of its spirit, can never feel it. Cardinal Wiseman in one of his essays—that one on “Religion in Italy,” we believe—observes that “Protestantism is the religion of one day in the week.” He was showing how the Italian peasantry bring the supernaturalizing leaven of religion into the duties of daily life. And did not St. Paul say, “Whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do, do all for the glory of God”? Hence, from the beginning the Church has sanctified every person and thing by devoting them to God. In the Christian commonwealth which the Church formed out of the chaos made by barbarism, the kings and emperors were anointed, as the priests are ordained and the bishops are consecrated. We have still our ceremonies for our secular officials; it serves as an evidence of their installation, but has no reference to God. There is in the Catholic liturgy a form of blessing for our food, our crops, our ships, and our houses.

I have written all this before coming directly to my subject in

order that what I have to say may appear in the fulness of its meaning.

Our Divine Lord instituted a sacrament by which persons are consecrated to the service of God. A bishop is consecrated, a priest is ordained. Following the analogy of Holy Orders, the Church devotes an edifice to the worship of God by the ceremony of dedication. We shall see later on that there is a solemn and a simple dedication ; the former is called consecration, the latter is called benediction. But let us, first of all, see the grounds on which the Church sets apart a building exclusively for Divine service by a special ceremony. It seems, indeed, just as natural to set apart or consecrate certain places as well as certain days to the worship of God ; and that has been done under the law of nature, as in the written law and in the law of grace. No other law than the inspiration of natural appropriateness commanded Jacob when he "set up for a title the stone which he had laid under his head, pouring oil on the top of it and called it the house of God."¹ Solomon dedicated the temple.² It was dedicated again by Zorobabel after the Babylonian captivity. It was sacked and profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 170), and was restored and dedicated again fifteen years later by Judas Maccabæus.³ The pagans also had their temples dedicated to their gods. After the taking of Veii Camillus dedicated a temple to Juno—"ædes Junonis reginæ ab eodem dictatore dedicatur;"⁴ but the ruins of the Roman temples are evidence enough without quoting any more instances. Calvin, the Centuriators of Magdeburg, and others among the early fruits of the sixteenth century heresy, saw in this sanction of antiquity only Judaism and the paganism of Rome. But hardly anything could be more short-sighted or untrue. Our Divine Lord did not abolish all the religious rites of the Jews. He did not come to "abolish the law, but to perfect it." Of course the Church would stand convicted of Judaism if she revived any of those rites—such, for instance, as the ceremony of the Paschal lamb, which had reference to the Messiah, promised, but not yet come. But the dedication of temples to God's service was not of these ; moreover, it did not belong to the ceremonial but to the moral law, and the moral law was retained for Christian observance. That the pagans also dedicated their temples shows that the practice came independently of any Divine positive law, that it had its origin in the law of nature. One is not

¹ Genesis, xxviii. 18 and 22.

³ I. Maccab. 4-36.

² Paraleipom., 7.

⁴ Livy, Lib., v. Chp. 31.

tainted with paganism precisely, because he happens to follow certain pagan practices. As there were in paganism some doctrines that were true, there were also some practices that were right. One should not refuse the light of the sun because it happens to shine on sinners. We should not reject one of God's good gifts because it should happen to be given also to those who disown its Author.

It has been objected, also, that an inanimate thing cannot be made sacred by men. But, in the old law, the tabernacle, the altars, the temple, were called sacred. St. Paul calls Christians "Saints," not by reason of their virtue precisely, but because they were consecrated to God. We call God "Holy" in a different sense from that in which we speak of the holy character of men and things. God is holiness itself; men and things are sacred, *i.e.*, segregated, inasmuch as they are destined for God's service. All that men can have is a participated holiness; all that things can have is a relative holiness. It is in the same sense that we call things good and true in reference, namely, to God, who is goodness and truth. Again, every place is sacred to God, because He has destined everything for Himself. Nevertheless, a special and solemn consecration of a place or thing exclusively for religious worship serves a useful and necessary purpose. It reminds men more sensibly of the presence of God; it inspires them with a keener consciousness of the "place where His glory dwelleth." It is quite true that God might be worshipped in one place as in another, for His Omnipresence pervades all. But in practical religious life we must forget the things that might be, to take account only of the things that are. God is everywhere, and can be worshipped anywhere. Our Divine Lord prayed wherever He went on His mission to men, but He prayed in the Temple also. He told the Pharisees that His "house is a house of prayer," and He rebuked them for making it "a den of thieves." That rebuke implied the consecration of the Temple to the exclusive purpose of prayer, and its sacredness from profane uses. Those, therefore, who would deny the meaning of a consecrated building which God Himself has sanctioned are so far led by an influence other than His Spirit. Those who refuse to go to worship God in a building dedicated for that purpose on the make-believe plea that He is to be worshipped neither in Jerusalem nor in Garizim, but that He is to be worshipped "in spirit and in truth," betray a disposition to worship Him neither in spirit nor in truth, nor in any other way.

We find traces of Christian buildings consecrated to Divine

worship back to the lifetime of the apostles. In this, however, we must distinguish between the solemnity and the reality. In apostolic times, and for two centuries after, the question between the Church and the Empire was not as to how she was to live, but whether she was to live at all. The faithful had to worship God in hidden places; nevertheless they had consecrated places of worship as formally distinct from private houses, although they were attached to or were sometimes part of them. St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians: "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the church of God?"¹ He was upbraiding them for eating in churches, because they were sacred. Again, "God is not the dissension but of peace; as also I teach in all the churches of the saints. Let women keep silence in the churches."² "There is," says Philo, "in each place a house consecrated to prayer, in which the mysteries of an honest and chaste life are celebrated."³ But, whilst persecution raged actively they worshiped "in the fields, in solitude, in ships, in prison, in inns,"⁴ writte Dionysius Alexandrinus. Dionysius the Areopagite, who lived in apostolic times, distinctly says that altars were anointed with oil and consecrated by a bishop.⁵

With the conversion of Constantine full freedom came to the Church. He gave Christians not only leave to live, but also leave to choose the manner of living. Henceforth they invested the dedication of churches, as well as other rites, with a solemnity of ceremonial which they did not dare to introduce before. The celebration lasted several days, several bishops were usually present, the Sacred Mysteries were celebrated with a new pomp, and discourses appropriate to the occasion were delivered. Eusebius has left a description of the consecration of a church in Jerusalem, in A.D. 335. It was built by Constantine, who summoned the bishops assembled at the Synod of Tyre to be present. In those early times churches were, as far as possible, consecrated on the occasion of a council or synod being held, in order to secure the assistance of a large number of bishops. In those early times, also, the dedication of a church was thought so necessary that it was not allowed to say Mass in it until it was dedicated. In the beginning of the sixth century, Felix IV. made a distinct prohibition to do so unless for very grave reasons. The enemies of St. Athanasius charged him with even holding an

¹ I. Cor., ii. 22.

² I. Cor., xiv. 33, 34.

³ Apud Eusebium *Hist. Eccl.*, lit II., cap. 16.

⁴ Apud Eusebium *Hist. Eccl.*, lit VII., cap. 22.

⁵ *De Eccl. Heraarchia*, cap. V.

assembly of the people in a church not dedicated. Hence, in those times, when dioceses were large, and many churches had to be built, bishops were busily engaged in consecrating them. Thus, St. Basil, on the occasion of the consecration of a church, for which the people had been waiting from midnight, apologizes to them for his delay; he had been consecrating another at a distance. After the profanation of the Church of St. Agatha, to which the Irish College in Rome is attached, by the Arian Goths, St. Gregory the Great restored and consecrated it, and preached a homily there on the occasion. In the collection of Canons compiled by Gratian several decrees are to be found which show the great importance which was attached to the dedication of churches by the early Christians, and the great solemnity with which the rite was invested. Constantine had several churches erected in Rome, and they were dedicated by Pope Sylvester.

We should naturally expect that before Constantine's conversion there was no solemn rite of dedication, or any written law on the matter. But no sooner was the church made free for its mission than a regular liturgy began to be formed, and amongst the earliest rites was that for the dedication of places for divine worship. Pope Sylvester issued a decree that churches were to be dedicated by a bishop, that the walls should be anointed with holy oil, or at least that the building should be blessed inside and outside with holy water. This is perhaps the most convenient place to explain the difference between benediction and the consecration of a church. Not many churches are consecrated, but every church must be blessed. The word "dedication" is a generic term—from *de* and *dicare*, to devote to. It implies the mere fact of devoting a church to Divine service, and prescinds from the ceremony by which the votive offering is made. Therefore, according as the ceremony is solemn or simple, there is a solemn or a simple dedication; the former is called consecration, the latter is called benediction or simple dedication. It appears that at first all churches were solemnly dedicated or consecrated; but as time went on the Christian religion grew apace, and churches were multiplied so fast that bishops could not meet all the demands on their time, if they had, besides their other duties, to travel great distances as fast as churches were erected throughout their dioceses, and go through the long ceremony of consecration. Hence a provisional form of dedication was introduced, which any priest might do with the permission of the bishop; that is, the simple dedication or benediction, which consists in reciting certain prayers and sprinkling the church inside and outside with holy water.

Since the benediction of a church is but a provisional dedication, no more account is taken of it once the church is consecrated.

But once a church is consecrated, the consecration remains as long as the church remains. In this there is an analogy between the consecration of a church and those sacraments which imprint a character and can be received only once. The Church consecrates persons by ordination, and it consecrates things by dedication. The reason why the sacraments of orders, baptism and confirmation leave a character is to be found in the purpose of their institution; for, as in all things else, it is their purpose determines their nature. Now, the purpose of these three sacraments, as distinguished from the others, implies deputation to do or to receive something.¹ The deputation involved in each of these sacraments involves the irrevocable destiny of the person who receives them. He may prove himself unworthy of his destiny and false to his mission, but the destiny remains nevertheless. Once a man is baptized he is bound by the law of a Christian for ever; when a man is confirmed he is a soldier of Christ for ever; when a man is ordained priest he becomes a priest for ever. As money is coined for currency, as officials of all kinds have some ensigns of their office to denote their rights and their duties, so does each of these sacraments truly imply a deputation for ever, leave on those who are deputed a character which endures for ever; and since it endures for ever, it would be vain to attempt to have it imprinted again. Those who receive these characters may become undutiful, but they are bound to their destiny withal; a son does not yield up his sonship by becoming a bad one. This sacramental character in the new law takes the place of circumcision in the old law. The sacraments of the old law had of themselves no spiritual virtue, they effected nothing internal in the soul; the Jews received from them only a legal and external satisfaction. Their character, *i.e.*, circumcision, was consequently merely external and legal. But for an analogous reason the sacramental character of the new law is spiritual.² From what has been said it will be seen that the impression of a character is owing to a sacramental peculiarity which involves a deputation to something. Analogously churches, by being consecrated, are deputed also, that is, set apart for Divine service, and so receive the character appropriate to their purpose. The character

¹ Deputatio ad aliquid foccindum vel recipiendum. Summa Theol. St. Thom. Pars 3—quæst 63, Art. 6.

² St. Thomas (*Ibidem*) teaches that it belongs to that kind of *qualitas* called *potentia*, *i.e.*, potentia per quam homo ordinatur ad ea quæ sunt cultus Domini.

of consecration lasts as long as the building lasts, because churches are not consecrated for a time but for ever. On the other hand, because a simple dedication completes its purpose, and of its nature ends in consecration, its character cannot any longer remain; there would be no meaning in their retaining the mark longer, as there would be nothing for which to mark them out.

Since the consecration of churches is sanctioned by the law of nature and of grace, and was practised by those who lived in the midst of apostolic tradition, it must be at least a rite good and pleasing to God. It is, moreover, an act done by the Church of Christ, and the prayers of consecration are offered in its name. It is therefore but natural that it would have some special effect. I will state here a few of the spiritual advantages which accrue to a church from its consecration. Of course, an inanimate thing is incapable of receiving grace. Nevertheless, St. Thomas¹ says that by consecration a church acquires a certain spiritual virtue which makes it specially apt for Divine service. Persons entering it with the right dispositions are inspired with a certain devotion and are better disposed for Divine things, provided no irreverence prevent those effects. Temptations less attack one there, for it has been exorcised of the spirit of evil. One of the liturgical prayers of the Church is: "Visit, we beseech Thee, O Lord, this habitation, and drive away from it all the snares of the enemy." That spiritual virtue is not, of course, any quality left in the walls by the consecration. But the consecration of a church is one of the sacramentals, such as the blessing of water, the churcning of women, or the wearing of scapulars. These produce spiritual effects according to the dispositions of the person, *ex opere operanti*, as it is called; and there is quite the same reason for believing that prayers offered in a consecrated church are, other conditions being the same, more efficacious than if offered elsewhere.² "For there is undoubtedly in that place a certain power of God. For He that hath His dwelling in the heavens is the visitor and protector of that place."³ Moreover, a consecrated building represents the Church, the Fold of Christ, and is therefore called that name. It would seem, therefore, that any prayers offered in a consecrated church, with the due dispositions and conditions, are offered as if

¹ Pars III. quæst 83, art. ad 3—"Ecclesia et alia osmodi inanimate consecratur, non quia sunt gratia susceptive, sed quia ex consecratione adipiscuntur quamdam spiritualem virtutem per quam apta reduntur cultui divino, ut, scil. homines devotionem quamdam exinde percipient ut sint porationer ad divina nisi hoc propter irreventiam impediatur."

² Suarez—De Religione, lib III. cap. 7.

³ II. Maccab., chap. 3, vs. 38, 39.

in the name of all the faithful praying in common as the Mystical Body of Christ, and this whether they are offered by the whole congregation during Holy Mass or by any one of the faithful for private devotion. All the faithful make up the Christian family; any consecrated church is its home; and the prayers duly said in it at any time, or by any member, are the prayers of the Spouse of Christ. Hence, before the ceremony of consecration, a church is exorcised to cast out the power of the evil one. St. Thomas¹ gives it as the well-founded opinion of some that venial sins are remitted by entering a consecrated church under the same conditions as they are remitted by the sprinkling of holy water.

In early times a church could not be lawfully consecrated by anyone without faculties from the Pope. For many countries no such permission is necessary, and the bishop of the diocese in which the church is has alone the right of consecrating it. The vicar-general may not do it, even though he were a bishop; for although it is not an act of Episcopal orders, Canon Law has juridically made it so and restricted it to the bishop of the diocese; and it is so exclusively the right of the Ordinary that the Metropolitan may not do it, even though he were a cardinal. A cardinal has the exclusive right of consecrating his titular church in Rome; that was decided only in recent years by Leo XIII. in a question which arose in connection with the consecration of the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli; for it was doubted whether the Cardinal Titular or the Cardinal Vicar of Rome had the right. This law holds also for the churches of religious orders, except in certain circumstances which must occur so seldom that it would be needless to name them here. A bishop, either because he has not yet been consecrated or for any other reason he may deem fit, can delegate another bishop to consecrate in his stead. He cannot delegate a simple priest to consecrate, but he can delegate him for the simple dedication or benediction. The Pope alone can give a simple priest the faculties for consecration. Although the dedication of a church is not a sacrament, Canon Law has so ordered that, whilst solemn dedication is to be numbered amongst the acts of the Episcopal order, simple dedication belongs to the acts of Sacerdotal order. Hence any bishop can consecrate any church validly, although he would do it unlawfully outside his own diocese without permission; a simple priest consecrates invalidly without Papal faculties, and he blesses unlawfully without the permission of the bishop. A necessary condition for the law-

¹ St. Thomas (*Ibidem*)—"quidam *probabiliter* decunt, etc."

ful consecration of a church is the inalienability of the church to be consecrated. A church may be alienated and turned to profane uses, either because the ground on which it is built is not freehold, or because it is liable for debt the payment of which is guaranteed by a mortgage on the building or on the ground. Hence, before a bishop can lawfully consecrate a church, there must be perpetuity of tenure, and immunity from pecuniary burdens.

The rite of consecration consists substantially in anointing with chrism twelve crosses, either cut or painted on the walls within, pronouncing at each anointing the words: "Sanctificetur et consecretur hoc templum, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen." But there are other elements of the rite which, although not essential, have a symbolic meaning and are very interesting. The whole rite of consecration consists of the consecration of the exterior, the consecration of the interior, and the consecration of the altar, together with the placing of the sacred relics. The consecrating bishop blesses holy water in front of the church, then makes three circuits of the outside, sprinkling the walls each time at a different elevation. He then comes to the principal door, as on Palm Sunday, and demands entrance in the words of the Twenty-third Psalm: "Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be lifted up, Eternal gates, and the King of Glory will enter in." He is answered by the deacon from within in the following verse of the Psalm: "Who is this King of Glory?" and the answer comes from the outside: "The Lord who is strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." This petition and response is repeated three times before the door is opened, and on entering he says: "Peace be to this house"; to which the deacon answers, "And on thy entrance into it." The choir then sings the words addressed by our Divine Lord to the repentant publican: "Zaccheus, make haste and come down, for to-day I must abide in thy house." All this is symbolic. The bishop represents our Divine Lord, the deacon the custodian of the building; the words spoken to Zaccheus are to denote the blessed effect of God's presence. Then the letters of the Greek and Latin alphabets are inscribed on the floor from corner to corner—which is done because the mysteries of faith which are to be taught there were preached in those two languages at the time the ceremony was arranged. The harmony of this will appear clearer when it is remembered that the bishop, on demanding entrance the third time, strikes the door with his pastoral staff to symbolize the effect which the Gospel preached in the name of Christ has upon the hearts of those who do not yet

believe. The church is then sprinkled with holy water and candles are lighted ; it symbolizes Baptism, and the spiritual illumination which comes of it. Then the crosses on the wall are anointed with holy oil ; it is symbolic of Confirmation, which perfects the gifts of baptism, or the Blessed Eucharist and Holy Mass through Holy Orders, which is symbolized also in the cross and the chrism. A mixture of water, ashes, salt and wine is used ; the water is man cleansed from original sin, the ashes is mortification and penance, the salt and wine denote the savor and joy which are the fruit of penance. May we not see the sacrament of matrimony symbolized when it is consecrated and represents the spouse of Christ "without spot or wrinkle?" Thus, as the consecrated material building represents the Church of Christ, and is called by that name, so does the rite of its consecration symbolize the various channels of grace through which the spiritual church sanctifies the faithful.

I have said that Canon Law recognizes an analogy between the consecration of a church and those sacraments which imprint a character on the soul. The character of its consecration remains as long as the church remains. But as Canon Law has fixed this analogy, so has it determined its limits. A consecrated church ceases to exist from two causes ; by *excretion* or by *pollution*. A church is execrated by the destruction, or even by the abrasion, of the walls. The consecration is considered as adhering to the walls only, or rather to their outer crust ; and consequently, though the roof should be destroyed, whilst the walls remain uninjured the consecration remains. Even though the walls are in part destroyed by accident, or for the purpose of repairing them, provided the greater part of them is not destroyed at any one time, the church is not execrated. A church is polluted by certain acts which, according to the Canons, render it unfit for Divine worship. As we are here dealing with a positive law, only those acts pollute a church which are expressly mentioned by the Canon Law. Moreover, as those Canons have had in view the religious sentiment of the faithful, the acts mentioned must be external and public. Such acts are, the burial of an unbaptized or an excommunicated person ; voluntary homicide ; bloodshed voluntarily caused, etc. In these cases the church must be reconciled by blessed water mixed with wine and ashes if the church had been consecrated, by blessed water alone if it had been simply dedicated. A simple priest may perform the rite of reconciliation in a church that had been simply dedicated ; the bishop of the diocese alone can do it in the case of a church which had been consecrated.

Churches are dedicated to God alone ; because a church as such is a place for sacrifice, and a sacrifice is offered only to God.¹ But they are usually dedicated under the invocation of some Saint. St. Augustine says : " We do not build churches to our martyrs as to gods, but memorials as to men whose souls live with God."² In erecting such memorials to the saints we do honor to God, for we thus immortalize the names of those who were made holy by His grace ; their sanctity is His work. Only a perverted Christianity would let those vanish from the memory of men whose life and death are the best evidences of God's providence and power. In the Roman Catacombs the sacrifice of the Mass was offered up over the graves of the martyrs. When the Christians were free to build churches they, in some instances, as in the case of the Church of St. Agnes, built them around the martyr's grave, removing for that purpose other graves less notable. But generally they erected what was called a *cella memoriae* over the cemetery where the remains of some remarkable martyr rested. These were called after the name of the saint in whose memory they were built. Their religious instinct led them to raise memorials to other martyrs for which there was no room over the cemeteries, and so churches were built in their honor in Rome itself. The custom thus obtained of dedicating churches wherever they were needed under the invocation of some saint. We cannot offer any historical authority for this, but from a study of the history of the Roman Catacombs we are convinced that our present custom of dedicating churches in honor of the Saints is the historical development of the custom which the early Christians had of offering up the Holy Sacrifice over the graves of the martyrs and of assembling around them for Divine worship.

M. O'RIORDAN, D.Ph., D.D., D.C.L.

¹ St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 8, cap. ult.

² *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 22, cap. 19.

THE OPPORTUNITIES OF EDUCATED CATHOLIC WOMEN.

ONE of the most satisfactory phases of our Catholic educational system is that represented by our convent schools. Those who assist at the annual closing exercises of our female academies cannot fail to be struck by the solidity and progressiveness, and especially by the suitableness of the education given therein to those who are preparing for the responsibilities and privileges of womanhood. The studies pursued in our representative convent schools reflect the brightest glories of the past, and satisfy the highest reasonable aspirations of the present in the matter of female education. Some of the more *masculine* studies, which reason and experience claim to be unsuited, if not positively injurious to the right development of the female faculties, are, it is true, absent; but all the studies which are best calculated to draw out and foster the special gifts of womanhood are very much in evidence. Modern languages, literature, and composition, music and other fine arts, history and elementary mathematics and science, needlework and domestic economy, are pursued to an extent and with a thoroughness that leaves nothing to be desired; and higher branches, such as Latin, philosophy and advanced science, are open to those who may need them, whether in some of the existing academies or in the college about to be established at Washington. And these studies are set in such innocence and winsome sweetness that the convent graduate shines forth as a model of twofold gracefulness, human and divine.

The most thoughtful non-Catholics recognize the incomparable worth of our convent-school education, and gladly avail themselves of it in ever-increasing numbers. They thus put in relief the folly of those Catholic parents who pass by the convent school to place their children in fashionable establishments at the sacrifice, very often, of true life and form and grace for the bare bones of knowledge bobbing up and down in the caldron of social excitement. Even the mere worldly wise, provided they possess true parental instinct, know that the safeguards and discipline, the purity and sacrifice that form the atmosphere of the schools conducted by nuns are the best environment to develop that activity and self-restraint, that gracefulness and reserve, which are the beau ideal, the charm of true womanhood.

Our convent schools are the especial joy and glory of the Church, and their marvelous success may be attributed in large measure to the deep interest taken in them by the chief pastor of every diocese, and by the general body of clergy and laity. This interest is founded on something deeper than the desire to see definite educational results. The Church, being the guardian of Christianity, is bound to regard herself in a particular manner as the guardian and champion of the rights and privileges of womanhood. All the prestige that woman has in modern civilization is due to Christianity, and to the Church's fidelity in preserving its tenets in this as in other respects. The darkest page in the history of ancient paganism is that which records the universal degradation of womanhood. This degradation was all the greater in proportion as material civilization was high, just as strongest lights cast darkest shadows. Whether we look to Greece in the age of Pericles, or to Rome in that of Cicero, we find woman enslaved and despised at the domestic hearth, and suffered to appear in public life only at the cost of morality and decency. Travellers tell us of a similar, yea, more appalling state of female degradation at the present day in China, notwithstanding its more than two thousand years of a civilization which is, from many points of view, brilliant. Indeed, wherever we look outside of Christianity we find the daughters of Eve suffering far more than her sons from the social disorders consequent on the Fall. And it is probable that their wretched condition would have gone on increasing in inverse ratio to the advance of material civilization, had not the great Restorer, "in the fulness of time," restored to womanhood its lost rights and privileges. The new Adam, the Incarnate Word of God, had created a new Eve, and deigned to make her a co-operatrix with Him in the sublime work of the Redemption. The rights and privileges of motherhood were restored, and the transcendental glories of virginity superadded in the person of Mary, the Virgin Mother of God:

"Virgine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
Umile ed alta più che creatura,
Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio
Tu sé colei che l'umana natura
Nobilitasti, sì che 'l suo Fattore
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura."

Mary's mission as co-redemptress of the human race restored woman in a supereminent degree to her original destiny, which was to be a "help unto man like to himself" (Gen., ii. 18). Around her gathered those holy women who shared in the bitter-

ness of the Passion and in the joys of the Resurrection. The Apostles and disciples were helped in their work by similar holy women to whom St. Paul so often refers ; and the perpetuation of the work of the Redemption through the Church has been helped in no slight degree in all ages and climes by the “ pious and devout female sex.”

The sacrament of matrimony restored the union of “ bone of my bones, flesh of my flesh ” which had obtained in the beginning ; and the Divine approbation of virginity by the Son of God secured to woman that freedom of choice, that sacred independence which finds its highest expression in the consecrated Spouse of Christ. It is to the eternal honor of the Church that she has preserved and safeguarded, fostered and defended, in a very marked manner the restored rights as well as the superadded privileges of womanhood. She has braved the wrath of sensual tyrants, she has sacrificed kingdoms in defence of the marriage bond. “ What God has united let no man put asunder,” has been with the Church as unalterable a policy, as immutable as in the mind of its author—God. And from the inviolability of the marriage-bond have come to woman all those honors and privileges of hearth and home and society which paganism and unbelief would deny her in the most brutal manner. Nor has the Church less respected and enforced the sacred rights of single life, whether in the world or in the cloister. The latter, especially, she has hedged round with those wise safeguards of canonical legislation which have enabled the lamp of virginity to burn brightly and securely through the darkest ages.

And on the solid foundations of restored rights and privileges and attendant duties the Church has ever striven to further the growth and development of woman’s faculties to the very highest and broadest extent consonant with right reason. She can point to St. Catherine, who taught Philosophy in the schools of Alexandria; to Hypatia, the teacher of Clement; to St. Paula, the friend and counsellor and inspirer of St. Jerome; to Teresia, the collaborer of St. Paulinus; to St. Radegunda of Poitiers, the Queen of Christian poetry; to St. Gertrude, who translated the Scriptures into Greek and sent over the sea for Irish masters to teach music, poetry and Greek to her nuns at Nivelle; to the learned Hilda, who was consulted by bishops in synod; to St. Catherine of Bologna, the celebrated miniature painter and musician; and to countless others, all through the centuries, whom she encouraged to cultivate their intellectual gifts to an extent that should satisfy the loftiest aim of the most advanced advocates of the higher education of women.

In recent times, more especially, women have been called upon by Divine Providence to take a part in the general work of the Church which recalls their wonderful achievements in the early days of Christianity. When the fell blast of infidel revolution laid low or withered nearly all that was good in Christian France, numbers of her daughters were raised up by God to found and organize those works of charity and education—those modern congregations of women—which have been such a fruitful agency for good in the present century. In France itself they have bound the wounds made by godlessness, and have instilled a spirit of wondrous activity; and their influence has spread abroad through every corner of the globe. Wherever Catholic missionary zeal finds a field—in the most far-off countries, and in the deadliest climates—are to be found those noble communities of women, such as the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, who are helpers in spreading the gospel like unto the holy women of early times.

And not only France, but all other European countries have witnessed this upspringing of female devotedness and activity—Ireland, in particular, on emerging from the dark night of penal laws, in the beginning of this century, found her Nano Nagles and Mother Macaulays ready commissioned by God to restore more than the pristine splendor of Kildare's ancient cell. And, like all good, this new heroism of womankind has spread abroad, and found fruitful fields of operation in the young Church of this country, and of the various colonies. It may, indeed, be said that the best female activities of all countries and nationalities have centered here in the United States. There is no one phase of good work, whether within the Church or without, at all comparable to our conventional establishments. There they stand in every city, and in almost every town of the land—convent schools, academies, orphanages, hospitals, houses of refuge—rivaling in structure and appointments, and acknowledged by the world to surpass in fruitfulness of results, the richly endowed state or other institution. There they stand, monuments to what can be done by the *vergine* and *madre*, the virgin's mind and the mother's heart, for developing the faculties of her own sex, and for uplifting bruised humanity.

It is under such influences that American Catholic women are being educated, whether in the parochial schools or in the academies. No better schools could be conceived for drawing out and strengthening the faculties of womanhood. For purely intellectual purposes they are not surpassed. It is no exaggeration to say that the best educated women in America are to be found within con-

vent walls ; and their pupils are welcome to all the opportunities for intellectual culture that their teachers enjoyed, or that modern progress has brought into requisition. And, as to formation of true womanly character, where could modesty and strength, patience and zeal, sympathy and devotedness, piety and patriotism be cultivated better than in those gardens enclosed by the evangelical counsels of perfection, and watered by the tears of love strong as death.

And if the opportunities of receiving the very best education are for our Catholic girls thus excellent and widespread, the opportunities for putting it to good account are none the less so. There has probably never been in the world's history such a goodly field for woman's highest efforts as that presented by the interests of the Church in America. Here, as in few other countries, the true woman is universally respected, and every avenue of usefulness thrown open to her. Here is a new country and a younger branch of the olden Church requiring, as all youth and newness require, activity and sacrifice for their development. In such conditions woman finds her most congenial and most brilliant sphere of operations. All that the mother is to the child woman can be in a new order of things, whether in Church or State. The Church in the United States, filled though it is by the vigor of Divine life and organization, has still much development in matters partly external and temporal, but which make for an increase of its influence as well as for the happiness of its members. Of these we may mention what may be called the intellectual and the social needs of the Church in the United States. Woman, in the person of our nuns, is already doing heroic work to satisfy intellectual wants for both sexes in our primary schools, and for her own sex in the academies. She is doing in these two cases for the Church under the inspiration of the highest motives what is being done for the State under the influence of well-earned salary. And the same high inspiration leads her to so perfect her work of sacrifice that it will not fear competition with the salaried work outside. But there is a wide field of intellectual work open more particularly to the mothers of families or to single women living in the world. Take, for instance, the taste for good literature and for things intellectual. It has to be acknowledged that our Catholic literature is, as yet, very poor, and that what we have of it is very little encouraged. It is somewhat in the condition of a vicious circle. Catholics are slow to write for publication because there is but a very restricted reading public, and the reading public is small because the supply of reading is so

meagre. In this matter woman can do incalculable good. As regards writing, there are some branches of literature that almost belong to her by right, and others wherein she can excel. All the books that appertain to the literary instruction of the young naturally belong to her, just as their education is best confided to her care. Histories and stories and biographies well and interestingly written would find a large market among Catholic school children, and establish a taste for literature of a higher kind. This special literary work can be successfully handled only by woman. Nor need she confine herself to it. There are other and wider fields where Catholic women have excelled. The work done by many of them for the various magazines is of the very highest order, and there is no reason why the number of such writers should not be increased. In this way a taste for Catholic literature will be developed. Catholic women who write books or articles will do more for spreading a taste for good literature than any other agency. The book that mamma loves will interest the child, and the article written by a lady friend is sure to be popular. It is to be desired that more and more of the pupils of our academies would thus utilize the training they have received. Who can calculate the good done by the works of the late Mrs. Craven, or of Lady Fullerton, or of Kathleen O'Meara? Yet none of them had a better field for such work than what an American Catholic authoress has. It is regrettable to think that so much literary power lies dormant with American Catholic women in the midst of such pressing calls for its exercise.

But it is in the line of social work, more especially, that there is in this country a wide and fertile field for the educated Catholic woman's best gift. There is no closing our eyes to the fact that our people are, as a whole, low down in the scale of social acquirements and influence. This state of things can be partly explained by the fact that most of our English-speaking Catholics landed here bereft of their ancient civilization, with the marks of penal manacles upon them, having nothing to recommend them to society except their brains and high morality. And here many roads to wealth and prominence are forbidden to them by faith and conscience. But no one can deny the eminent capacity of our people for the highest social rank. See those children approaching the Holy Communion table for the first time, or see them ranked in file for confirmation or for reception into some religious sodality; or see those young ladies at the academy commencement, or those young men at that of the college. Surely in all these cases one sees the ideal material for social life—that beautiful combination of natural and supernatural gifts which even

the outside world must admire. The very richness of those social gifts forms a particular danger and temptation for the educated Catholic young lady. If she yields to vanity and selfishness, she will use her gifts to kick off the ladder whereby she has ascended, turn her back on her own, and grasp at the higher social eminence beyond. Many such a one is found who spurns the low estate of her home surroundings, rejects the somewhat rough but generous companions of her childhood for the refined foppery of the young man of fashion, who has learnt to bow and flatter and make obeisance until such time as his passions lead him to pastures new. The existence of such cases is to many minds an argument against what is called the "over-education" of Catholic girls; but, assuredly, those cases are the result not of the use but of the abuse of education. All true education, and notably that received in our convent schools, should develop humbleness of mind, sympathy with suffering, the ambition to work for the uplifting of others. It would be disastrous, especially in this country, to educate Catholic girls to be, or to consider themselves, "grand ladies." Grand ladies do no good. They live for themselves and their vanities. They spend in vulgar adornment what would feed the hungry and clothe the naked. They waste in gossip the precious time that could be devoted to good works. They restlessly aim at rivalling other grandes, instead of working to alleviate the lot and improve the social status of the brethren of the household of the faith. What we want, and what we have, thank God! in such numbers, are the educated women who feel that their first duty is to their own; the women who will strive to attract the less educated young men from the saloons and the street corners; the women who will invite their poorer and rougher acquaintances to their entertainments, and thus encourage them to a higher social life; the women who will contribute not merely money, but their time and labor, to charitable and social works; who will not be ashamed to meet for Catholic objects any Catholic woman of generous impulse and unblemished character. We want women who will be the salt and light of that particular world to which they primarily belong—the world of their kith and kin, the world illumined and enlivened by the Divine Spirit. We want women whose highest ambition will be to share with Mary in co-operating in the Redemption—women whose motto will be that expressed by a pious writer in the words,

"I live for the heavens above me
And the good that I can do."

JOHN T. MURPHY, C.S. SP.

ENGLAND'S SECOND GREAT COMMONER, GLADSTONE.

IT is by the dropping out of such lives as that of Mr. Gladstone that we are enabled to apply the aqua-fortis to the spurious philosophy of socialism, the creed of universal equality. An empire may lose an army and a fleet, and other armies and fleets, and still survive. But the loss of one man such as the late great tenant of Hawarden outweighs that of armies. Minds like his are moral leverages such as Archimedes never dreamed of. They do not often appear, and while we have them with us we perhaps do not appreciate them as they deserve.

The broken shaft above a tomb, so often seen as a symbol of the uncompleted life, is strikingly typical of the unfulfilled mission of the deceased statesman. To very few men of the illustrious plane is it given by Providence to behold their lifelong purpose in a great cause realized to the full. Washington, for whom Gladstone felt and expressed the profoundest admiration, stands unique, if we regard the proportion of things, in this respect. Yet there was some parallelism in the aims and characters of the two men, though an immense disparity in their times and opportunities. They were both singularly unselfish, and there was the manly shrinking from tinsel reward and servile adulation which marks the true republican about each. But the parallelism ceases there. Washington was a patriot; Gladstone was a statesman and—a politician.

Not the faintest trace of "the pride that apes humility" was visible in the characters of either of these great men. It was their natural instinct to recoil from adventitious honors. We may find a contrast for their behavior under the temptation of titular adornments in the case of the late poet-laureate. A good many years ago a distant relative of Tennyson's bequeathed to him a fortune, on the condition that he add the devisor's name, by means of a hyphen, to his own. The poet rejected the money and kept his name. But when royalty came and proffered a tinsel title in the same breath as brought nobility to the big brewers of Burton and Dublin, he had not the loftiness to withstand the allurement. Not so with the fine old Commoner now gone to his rest. He for long had the giving away of titles, but he never sought any for

himself, and when it was proffered it was respectfully declined. An earldom or a dukedom could bring him nothing that he valued. In a monarchical country like Great Britain such a mental attitude was not easily intelligible, though to an American it may appear rational, on a retrospect of the temptations and decisions of the country's fathers when the hour of liberty brought the hour of election between royalty and democracy.

Mr. Gladstone was never a favorite at Windsor, for he scarcely ever appeared there save as the ambassador of the democracy, bearing a sort of ultimatum in the shape of a bill red-hot from the anvil of fiery debate, intended for the relief of the people from some intolerable injustice, or giving them a larger share in the government of the nation. It is believed, however, that the Prince of Wales did not share the aversion in which his royal parents held the great statesman; neither did the gracious lady, his wife, since one of the last messages received by Mrs. Gladstone prior to her husband's death came from her. It was significant. It simply said, "I am praying for him." These few words speak volumes of the character of the princess and the hold which the distinguished sufferer had obtained over her heart and mind.

The history of Mr. Gladstone's ministerial career is the history of modern progress in England. Before his day the whole science of statesmanship consisted in the arts of curtailment, denial, and repression of rights which Magna Charta and the Declaration of Rights purported but failed to secure. Even the Reform Act of 1834, won only after a conflict that went very near being a revolution, had achieved very little for the enfranchisement of the masses. Labor was held in a state of worse than Egyptian bondage. Laws of terrible severity, enacted by a capitalist Parliament, and enforced by employer magistrates, prevented the working-man from protecting the fruits of his industry by association with his fellows. Corruption was rampant in the electoral system; the working-man and the schoolmaster were almost wholly unacquainted. The misery and oppression of the working-classes often found expression in murderous outrages and pauperizing strikes. It would be difficult to find a darker or more melancholy picture than that presented in the political and industrial condition of England at the time Mr. Gladstone took office under Sir Robert Peel. Yet before he died he had the happiness of seeing every one of the evils which then existed swept away, mainly through the efforts of the Liberal party and mostly at his own initiation. By the operation of the Local Government Act the people of England are made supreme in everything relating to their insular interests.

The complement of this measure is the Agricultural Rating Act, by means of which the long-standing inequality between urban and rural taxpayers was adjusted. These measures, the control of the School Board, and the change from the system of open voting to that of secret ballot, make the English people masters of their own destinies as truly as the people of the United States. They now enjoy all the advantages of a democracy, without any of its glaring and flagitious drawbacks such as we find them here under the "machine" and "boss" system. And it is true to say that in every step which led up to this enviable state of things Mr. Gladstone was the guiding spirit.

Looking back at the long public career of this great statesman, and the many grievous abuses which he was instrumental in removing, it is impossible to escape the conviction that his individual personality represented a force as powerful as any modern revolution. How wild and delusive, then, the fundamental idea of the levelling socialist, the perfect equality of mankind! Men of this kind are not mere accidents. They are chosen instruments, and it is vain to speculate by what mysterious process of arrangement they are borne to the surface of events.

Mr. Gladstone differed from most other English Prime Ministers in the forces which he represented. He was the incarnation of the *thought* of the country and the age; the rest, for the most part, were the expression of its force or its finesse. Furthermore, he represented the *conscience* of the people—a long dormant, perhaps unexpected quantity.

Religious tendencies had not been conspicuous characteristics of English Ministers down to Mr. Gladstone's time. With the exception of Lord Derby, the men who filled the rôle of Prime Minister in modern times were mere worldlings, when they were not downright bigots. Peel and Russell belonged to the latter category; Palmerston to the former. But the serious and devout tendency of Mr. Gladstone's mind manifested itself even at the outset of his political career. Like all those who are truly devout, he was tolerant and just to those from whom he differed. His search for the truth in religion began at an early age. He was so strongly drawn toward Rome, even before the Oxford movement began, that many entertained the hope, even to the end, that he might die in the faith of Rome. That he was sincere and earnest in his quest of truth there can be no doubt. But his mind was of a peculiarly subtle, and we might say casuistical, fibre, so that many who followed his arguments at times found no little difficulty in grasping his meaning or perceiving the applica-

bility of his arguments. Logicians so profound may impose even upon themselves. We have seen, in the case of Mr. Balfour, that when men engaged in political life enter the region of metaphysics their worldly insight ceases to be of any practical service to them, and they fail to discern where the true and the false bifurcate.

Although Mr. Gladstone does not appear to have been troubled, like Mr. Balfour, with any serious doubts regarding the fundamentals at least of religion, he must have failed, in the last analysis, to grasp the vital principle of the singleness of authority and the depository of Divine grace, or become too mentally clouded in his final hours to wrestle with the problem. The failure appears to have arisen from his political environment and an inveterate habit of mind. Peculiar interest attaches to this aspect of Mr. Gladstone's life because of his early interest in Catholicism, his long friendship with Newman, his generous opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and his subsequent repeal of that discreditable enactment. His later conflict with the Vatican disclosed a weakness in his character which could hardly have been suspected by any one who had followed his previous course in political polemics. But we must, in extenuation, recall the fact that he was smarting under the sense of defeat at the hands of those Irish members for whose country he had thought he had done so much that in gratitude they might forego even a little principle. He had not as yet learned to know them, or realize how much depended on that principle for whose sake they risked the loss of so powerful a friend. There is nothing for which the Irish hierarchy and clergy have so steadfastly contended as for the religious principle in education, and the measure which he and Mr. Forster were endeavoring to get through Parliament as a settlement of the Irish claim for higher education was such as could by no possibility be accepted. The Irish party opposed it, and as a result the Ministry were defeated. Stung by this blow, the man who disestablished the Protestant Church and gave the Irish a Land Act felt that he must express his sense of ingratitude, and so he sat down and wrote an article on Papal Infallibility for the "Contemporary Review," to be followed by his pamphlets on "Vaticanism."

This episode turned out to be so memorable in its sequel that it merits more than passing reference. For Mr. Gladstone's sake it is to be regretted that he yielded to his irritation ; for the sake of the truth of the Catholic position the incident may be regarded as almost providential. The pamphlets provoked a rejoinder from

Cardinal Newman so crushing and complete that Mr. Gladstone had no spirit left to continue the contest on the ground originally taken up ; in fact he retreated, saying that the main purpose of his writing had been attained in demonstrating that the loyalty of Roman Catholics had been untainted and unshaken by the promulgation of the new dogma. Nothing could have been more serviceable or timely than this memorable discussion. It served to clear away a mass of uncertainty, even among Catholics, as to the exact scope and significance of the dogma, and to place the relations of Church and State in all places of mixed denominations in their true light. But it was not without its ill effects, for the time at least, upon the fortunes of the faithful. In "Vaticanism" Mr. Gladstone had stated that Catholics could not be loyal to the State if they acted consistently with their religious teachings, and it was upon this hint that Prince Bismarck and Dr. Falck began the long and intolerable persecution of the Kulturkampf. The new laws were enforced with merciless rigor for many years, yet the German Catholics remained loyal to the State, thus furnishing a living proof of the falseness of the proposition ; and the most signal evidence of the power of truth and innocence over false logic and spiteful action based on it is found in the fact that the German Government at length recognized the futility and the folly of such a code, and raised no difficulty when it was proposed to efface it from the statute-book.

The literature as well as the legislation arising from this pamphleteering episode marks a distinct chapter in the advancement of true principles and constitutional freedom. Issues had often previously been raised as between Church and State, but they were chiefly matters of jurisdiction and prerogative. Here the point was intellectual and constitutional. Hence the literature to which it gave birth to was unique and precious.

Valuable as the previous works of Cardinal Newman had been from a spiritual standpoint, the reply to "Vaticanism," as a theolo-gico-constitutional summing-up, remains simply priceless. It was a treatise not merely for the day which called it forth, but for all days and all countries of civilized rule. Gladstone's learning was reckoned vast ; when it became a question of constitutional and ecclesiastical interpretation, he showed beside the great profound Newman merely as a sciolist. It is impossible to read the mercilessly dignified and icily cutting rebuke of this wonderful argument without perceiving the immense superiority which the disputant who preserves his temper possesses over the antagonist laboring under the sub-fever of momentary passion. Mr. Glad-

stone's pamphlet on the first blush appeared to be a formidable indictment. Its dissection by the master-hand now provoked to the task proved it to be a piece of ill-fitting, disjointed and irrelevant logic. Every weapon found in the arsenal was made to recoil upon the rash hand that drew it forth. Those portions of it, in especial, which deal with the limitations of Papal Infallibility and the area of individual freedom of thought among Catholics have been of inestimable value in the resuscitation of Catholicism in England. They do not meet with unqualified approval, it is true; but what merely human dictum ever did? But they disposed, once and forever, of Mr. Gladstone's preposterous position that Catholics loyal to the head of their Church were merely bond-slaves as regards thought and will in all matters pertaining to doctrine and civil allegiance. It was not the mere logic of verbal statement or definition which Mr. Gladstone had to face if he dared to reply; it was the argument of what was actually going on as a result of the Infallibility dogma. Catholics had been treated by him as robbed of their freedom of opinion; while on every side the press was gleefully pointing to the contradictory arguments and opinions used by Catholics regarding the nature of the dogma and the policy of its formulation. The limitation of this right of private judgment must, *prima facie*, be no less imperative than the limitation of the Infallibility dogma itself, in view of the fact that, beside the Church, everywhere we have the organization of civil society, with its laws and magistrates, obedience to whom is no less necessary to the general welfare than obedience to the spiritual law. The Swiss bishops had summed up the position thus succinctly :

“It in no way depends upon the caprice of the Pope, or upon his good pleasure, to make such and such a doctrine the object of a dogmatic definition. He is tied up and limited to the Divine revelation, and to the truths which that revelation contains. He is tied up and limited by the Creeds already in existence, and by the preceding definitions of the Church. He is tied up and limited by the Divine law and by the constitution of the Church. Lastly, he is tied up and limited by that doctrine, divinely revealed, which affirms that alongside religious society there is civil society, that alongside the ecclesiastical hierarchy there is the power of temporal magistrates, invested in their own domain with a full sovereignty, and to whom we owe obedience in conscience, and respect in all things morally permitted and belonging to the domain of civil society.”

Cardinal Manning also replied to the extravagant pamphlet; so

did the Bishop of Clifton, the learned Dean Neville, and several other theologians of distinction. Perhaps of all these the arguments of Cardinal Manning were most effectual in compelling the author's retreat or sullen silence. It was a solemn warning of the consequences which his discordant trumpet-blast was likely to entail. "He has not only invited, but instigated, Catholics to rise against the Divine authority of the Catholic Church. He has endeavored to create divisions among them. If Mr. Gladstone does not believe the authority of the Catholic Church to be Divine, he knows they do.

"If he thinks such a rising to be 'moral and mental freedom,' he knows that they believe it to be what his own litany calls 'schism, heresy, and deadly sin.' If he believes religious separations to be lawful, he knows that they believe them to be violations of the Divine law. I am compelled, therefore, to say that this is at least an act of signal rashness."

No one who is honest and unprejudiced can look back at this painful rencontre and give an unqualified endorsement to Mr. McCarthy's recent summing up of Gladstone's impelling motives in his political action—"Nothing ignoble or selfish, or merely conventional." Petulance and unreasoning anger and attribution of false motives to others are ignoble and decidedly conventional—the ear-marks of ordinary weak mortality. The charge that the Irish members who opposed his education policy were slaves of Rome was unworthy of him ; the expectation that the Irish bishops would have sacrificed that principle of a religious training for which they had held out for many a decade, under every stress of temptation and poverty, was discreditable to his judgment as well as to his idea of the obligations of conscience and duty. We must only make allowance for the excitement of political passion, and treat the incident as an aberration to be looked back upon with regret by any truly great mind. We believe Mr. Gladstone did most earnestly regret it, as in every subsequent dealing of his with Irish questions he carefully avoided any reopening of this delicate business, and left to Mr. John Morley and his successors in the Irish Office the delicate duty of dealing with the claims of the Irish hierarchy in the matter of education.

In strong contrast to Mr. Gladstone's attitude in this transaction was his course at a much earlier period over the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. There was a breadth of view and a foresight in his utterances that raised him high above all others who took part in those memorable debates. The bill, he said, if it effected anything, would only check the tendency of English Catholics to

develop national sympathies and increase their absolute dependence on Rome. It could not, at the same time, check Catholic influence or organization, as its provisions did not interfere with the holding of synods or the introduction of canon law. It would be simply an inoperative display of a persecuting spirit, exercised in response to an act of the Pope which had a purely spiritual purpose and should be exempt from spiritual animadversion. The little miniature of a penal law, as he described Lord John's measure, would only throw back the Roman Catholics of England and prevent their improvement. He appealed passionately to the spirit of religious liberty and the steady march of the recognition of the rights of conscience, of which England boasted of being the most conspicuous defender, as influences to defeat the illiberal proposal. It is interesting to note that on this occasion, and this occasion only, Mr. Gladstone ventured to play the prophet, and still more interesting to find that his prophecy was fulfilled. He confidently predicted that in a few years the pendulum of public support would swing back to the side of the small minority for whom he spoke. The presage was received with a burst of derivative cheering. But it was literally fulfilled, and the prophet himself became the Prime Minister. He proposed, twenty years afterwards, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and so absolutely inoperative had been the measure, and so metamorphosed the public sentiment, thanks to the winning and high-minded ways of Cardinal Wiseman and Cardinal Newman, that hardly a murmur of dissent was heard in reply.

Insularity is the parent of bigotry, and fortunately Mr. Gladstone's private position was such as to prevent any danger from this evil. His father had been a wealthy merchant, and when his son chose political life instead of the ministry his means enabled him to procure for him all the advantages which education and travel could confer. In the year 1838 he visited Rome. He bore an introduction to Dr. Wiseman from a mutual friend named Rio, an artist and dilettant of singular genius. His reasons for wishing an introduction to Dr. Wiseman were given in his own words by the writer :

"I am most earnestly anxious," wrote Mr. Gladstone to M. Rio, "to become acquainted with the practice of the Roman Catholic Church, with its moral and spiritual results upon its members. It is of the utmost importance to the adjustment and development of my own convictions regarding the doctrine of the visibility of the Church, and the necessity of that doctrine to counterbalance the tendency to indefinite subdivision and ultimate infidelity which springs from the notion of a limitless private judgment."

Here it is permissible to pause and indulge in a little speculation. Had Mr. Gladstone not been a politician and a constitutional statesman, his untrammeled mind might have led him into the same grooves of inquiry and reason as drew his most valued friends into the bosom of the Church. But there was the rub. He found himself compelled by law and by association and conventionality to give a loyal support to the Anglican Establishment. He never could have been Prime Minister, very probably, and so never have effected the overthrow of that monstrous anomaly, the Irish Establishment, or effected all the other good he did, had he followed the warmer dictates of his spiritual leanings toward their logical end. As it was, he tried to satisfy them by accepting the compromises of Ritualism and imitating the non-gravitating attitude of his close friend, Dr. Pusey.

The failure to grasp the cardinal principles of Catholicism, nevertheless, seems extraordinary in the case of a thinker who set out with such a laudable motive as the desire to investigate the doctrine of the visibility of the Church, and the power of that doctrine to counteract the tendency to subdivide and break away. That he had a keen appreciation of the value of authority we have proof in the almost pathetic letter he addressed to Pope Leo XIII. imploring him not to give any decision on the Anglican Orders controversy which might have a disturbing effect upon the cause of union. That letter in itself was an admission of the authority which in theory he repudiated, but found it impossible to deny. Here we behold a state of mind which to anyone but a statesman must seem hopelessly inexplicable and self-contradictory. We cannot wonder at the Noncomformists being amazed and indignant at some of the passages in his memorable letter to the "Times." Nothing is plainer than the position of Nonconformists. Authority for them has no meaning in a spiritual and canonical sense. They represent the principle of revolt *ad infinitum*. If Mr. Gladstone's reasoning was right, as a Welsh Baptist, the Rev. Walter Wynn, pointed out in a letter of remonstrance to him—one out of hundreds—then the basis upon which Nonconformist Church policy was based was unscriptural and insecure. This directness of vision to Mr. Gladstone seemed obliquity. He could not comprehend the mental process, he said, in reply, by which his reasoning had been alarming to anyone. The common Christianity of separated bodies of Christians was strengthened the more each was able to acknowledge the soundness of truths or usages held by any. He desired the unity of different denominations of Christians on such bases as they mutually possessed, as a thing of

great consequence in the face of non-Christians. Mr. Wynn had asked him why, if he were not desirous of seeing all Christendom again brought under the sway of the Pope, he had discussed his opinion on the subject of Anglican Orders at all; and Mr. Gladstone's reply was simple and frank: "I honor the Pope in the matter, as it is my duty to honor every man who acts as best he can with the spirit of courage, truth and love." This reply may have silenced the Baptist minister, but it may be questioned whether it satisfied him. Those who consult oracles often go home wondering.

If the "Nonconformist conscience" could never comprehend the mind of Mr. Gladstone, it must be because of its Celtic fibre. Nonconformists are plain folk; Mr. Gladstone was a Scot *pur sang*, although born in England. Celtic temperament discerns many shades and hidden strata of thought imperceptible to the ordinary vision; and this peculiar quality is strikingly displayed in the dialectic subtleties of the mediæval schoolmen, among whom the Celtic element formed so dominant a proportion. Mr. Gladstone's mind was in many essential respects the scholastic one. Yet, although it was Celtic in its quality, it seemed to be deficient of the Celtic playfulness and the Celtic poetry or imaginativeness. Perhaps this was because of the bent imparted to it by political life. A certain grave dignity pervaded even his lighter flights of oratory and literature, and an appreciable amount of austerity differentiated his manner and mode of expression from that of the higher types of Celtic scholarship. But he had, more than any English statesman of our era, the true Celtic enthusiasm in a great cause. Once his sympathies and his genius were enlisted for some high moral or social end, his ardor and passion were magnificent, and they exerted that mesmeric force of contagion which is the peculiarity of great leaders of men, in the field or in the senate-hall. Whatever his inconsistencies and aberrations about Catholic principles, on one point Mr. Gladstone stood so valiantly for the same idea that the Church has maintained that his effort can never be forgotten. This was the question of divorce. No man in civil life ever stood up so manfully as he for the maintenance of the marriage contract in all its pristine Scriptural integrity.

The battle which Mr. Gladstone waged for morality in this great question was no mere perfunctory piece of advocacy. It was a subject which enlisted all the finest instincts of his character. Hence, when he threw himself into the breach he came armed at all points, spiritually and intellectually. To lawyers, learned in the law, like the attorney-general, Bethell (afterward Lord

Westbury), who had charge of the bill for Lord Palmerston's government, he proved himself an astonishing antagonist. They might quote old statutes; he could quote more. His erudition, whether in canon law, statute law, or international law, was immense—not alone upon this point, but indeed upon every subject that ever came up for public discussion. His memory was quite equal to Macaulay's; he could readily, and without refreshing, quote whole chapters of Scripture or the poets, and even the text of particular statutes. Nor did he suffer in his own original effort from this familiarity with other authorities by making their ideas the grooves for his own thought, as many lively-memoried speakers are often inclined to do. The originality of his style, both as to arrangement of argument and felicitous adaptation of phraseology, maintained itself down to the end of his life's chapter. Those addresses he delivered in the House of Commons against the Divorce Bill made everybody listen. They were a revelation at the time—the first arguments founded upon the moral law and Scriptural authority which the House had listened to, perhaps, since the days of Wilberforce. Nor did Mr. Gladstone restrict himself to the walls of Parliament in the endeavor to arouse the public conscience against what he believed to be an iniquitous proposal. He wrote against its principle in the pages of the "*Quarterly Review*" and in some of the leading daily papers. With no avail, however. The bill became law, but the law was always bitterly condemned by Mr. Gladstone. It is curious to find his biographer, Mr. Justin McCarthy, endeavoring to palliate the iniquity of such legislation by saying that divorce existed in England before that period, and throwing doubt upon the expediency of such lofty religious standards as Mr. Gladstone fought for in such a cynical worldly assemblage as the English House of Commons. Too much, it is to be feared, is sacrificed to the "historical temperament," in this and some other passages, by that distinguished author.

It is permissible to surmise that had Mr. Gladstone been left to himself his generosity would have led him to deal more equitably with the educational claims of the Irish Catholics than he ever attempted. It should not be forgotten that, forceful though his personality was, he was surrounded by lieutenants hardly less so, and he was bound to consult these in all propositions of legislation in which what were recognized as Liberal principles were involved. Three of these lieutenants in especial were formidable foes to all denominational claims, and were, moreover, men of vast influence in the Liberal sphere. In Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr.

Fawcett, and Mr. John Morley he had men who were looked up to as authorities on educational systems, and who were more or less imbued with the secularistic theories of John Stuart Mill. Mr. Forster was Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Fawcett Postmaster-General, under the administration which was responsible for the Irish University Bill. Mr. Morley was Secretary later on. The utmost either of these would ever agree to, in satisfaction of Catholic claims, was the elimination of the religious character from the University system and throwing it open to all. The bill drawn up by the Liberal Cabinet proposed to transform the University of Dublin into a non-denominational institution, and to make it the teaching as well as the examining body for all Ireland. The theological difficulty was proposed to be met by allowing Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges, and the Magee Presbyterian College to include that course in their curriculum, but there was no power in the proposed central University, under its charter, to examine in this essential department of university learning. It is hardly to be wondered at that the scheme failed to secure public support. It did not meet with the approbation of those whose just claims it was brought forward to satisfy, while the Protestants were as emphatic as the Catholics in denunciation of a design which struck at the foundation of their exclusive University and attempted to nullify a former royal charter. To the Catholics a University without a faculty of theology would be as "Hamlet" minus the title-character of the play. But the ridiculous feature of the proposal did not stop here. Theology has, as necessary adjuncts, to call in moral philosophy and modern history, and so it was also contemplated in this unfortunate University Bill to withdraw the teaching and examining in these subjects from the powers of the University. Looking back at the incident now, and bearing in mind the passionate attachment of Mr. Gladstone himself for theological studies and polemics, it is almost painfully surprising how he ever could have persuaded himself, or allowed himself to be persuaded by his colleagues, into the belief that the proposals contained in this measure could ever find acceptance in Ireland as a settlement of the University difficulty. It was little wonder that it elicited the sarcastic description, from Mr. Disraeli, of a University that was "not universal" in its teaching. But the truth is that the age was saturated with John Stuart Mill. He was the grand authority on all subjects, as Mr. Herbert Spencer sets up to be now, and his cold and deadening influence hung over the mind of Liberal England more deadly than the Puritan pall of an earlier period. But John Stuart Mill's philosophy was

never acceptable to the Celtic mind. No inspiration was needed by the Irish members on the course they should adopt with regard to this inept University Bill, and it was preposterous for Mr. Gladstone to attack them, as he subsequently did, as slaves of the Irish bishops and the Vatican because they recognized the folly and inefficiency of the scheme. This is the episode in Mr. Gladstone's life which has most interest for Catholic readers, and Mr. McCarthy, in his otherwise satisfactory biographical sketch, mitigates its disagreeable features by passing over it lightly and apologetically. There is little sense in this course. Mr. Gladstone was a great man, but he had his human weaknesses, of which wounded vanity and vexation of spirit at times formed no inconsiderable part.

It is difficult to say whether, this incident apart, we ought to admire the departed statesman more for his great achievements as a political reformer or an indefatigable and accomplished scholar. Truly no other man since Bacon's day united the character of student and statesman so effectively. But Gladstone towered above Bacon immeasurably, both in opportunity for realization of political aims and in integrity of personal character. There is not much parallelism any way; and, indeed, in looking around for parallels, the field is almost bare. Mr. Gladstone was at once the Achilles and the Ulysses of the Liberal party, and he was wonderful in the length of time for which he held that unique supremacy in the workshop of public debate and the making of thought into living fact. In philosophical wisdom he bore no comparison to Burke; he excelled him in adapting such wisdom to the practical opportunities of the time. He was inferior to Burke in magnanimity, but he did not fall below him in generous philanthropy or ardent indignation against widespread and powerful wrong-doing. He was fortunate in the political enemies he had to encounter. The meretricious and showy Disraeli was his chief foe-man and rival in ministerial power for many years of his life, and the shallow nature of his legislative policy and his "plunging" foreign statesmanship formed so conspicuous a foil to Gladstone's progressive tendency at home and conservatism abroad that one might think there is a dramatic mind presiding over the development of natural life and the making of history, so sharp are the personal and the *zeitgeist* contrasts. Mr. Gladstone was a reformer from conviction of the need and justice of reform; Mr. Disraeli was a reformer—once in his life—from policy. His memorable feat of "dishing the Whigs" by the introduction of the Reform Act of 1867 stamped him as a sort of political Grimaldi. By

means of an alliance between the Tory forces he led and the "Adullamite" Liberals, led by Mr. Robert Lowe, he succeeded in defeating the Franchise Reform Bill of the Liberal party; and when Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone, who had framed it, were driven from office, he introduced a measure which eventually proved more sweeping in its political changes, and in order to pass it he accepted the alliance of the Radical wing of the Liberal party to compensate for the loss of the Conservative wing by whose help he had defeated the Liberal Administration. The cynical indifference to principle exhibited in this episode proved that Disraeli's animating motives were much the same as those of a captain of *condottieri*; while the changes noticeable in Mr. Gladstone's political views no less palpably point to the results of the natural evolution of thought and the study of the needs and grievances of the people. To find such a man taunting Mr. Gladstone with inconsistency in politics shows that he regarded political life somewhat as a *nisi prius* advocate does the law—a thing to be gambled for as in a game of skill. The period of thirty-six years had elapsed since Mr. Gladstone, under all the influences of conservative Oxford, had spoken and voted against the Reform Bill in the debating society there, and he was then little more than a boy. His public life during that period had been educative and formative. He acted with the Conservatives for a good many years, but the glacier forces of Liberal conviction had been silently operating on the sharp scales of this ancient prejudice toward a new political configuration. As he himself explained, he had been "bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning and the yet more venerable name of Burke, and his youthful imagination was impressed in the same way as the mature imagination of the right honorable gentleman (Disraeli) was then impressed"; and so he had conceived that fear and alarm of the first Reform Bill as the Tory leader felt. But there was this further difference between their cases, which could not be perceptible then, but was destined to be plainly manifested ere many months had supervened—that the aversion which Mr. Gladstone confessed was real, while that of his rival was merely pretended.

But although Mr. Gladstone commenced his political life as a professed Conservative, there was from the very outset the germ and strain of the reformer. In his address to the electors of Newark—the pocket-borough for whose representation he was selected by the Duke of Newcastle—he pronounced against the proposed Reform Bill—that of 1832—and against that desire for change which threatened to produce, "along with partial good, a melan-

choly preponderance of evil." This was a singular departure for a Tory politician to take, for none had been found until then to admit that any good whatever was to be expected from the proposed change in the political adjustment. But Mr. Gladstone went further still. He dwelt with much emphasis on the condition of the poor and the proper reward of labor. He also pronounced in favor of the education of slaves and their preparation for gradual emancipation—for slavery was an institution in the British colonies when he began his Parliamentary career. The time was auspicious for his entry. The Reform Bill had been carried, and the men who had led the agitation for it were the leading Parliamentary orators of the day—Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, Daniel O'Connell, and several other masterful minds. With Daniel O'Connell Mr. Gladstone was particularly impressed. It could not but be that the maxims of progress and freedom which he heard in those days from the Liberal benches touched some latent or incipient chords of sympathy in his heart, though no notes came from them just then.

Sir Robert Peel was one of those who had a large part in shaping the character of Mr. Gladstone, and, like Mr. Gladstone, he was one of those who had their early political convictions entirely changed, by a gradual process, from the logic of events and the force of personal contact with men and the world. Peel's economical policy, which finally found expression in the passage of the Corn Laws Repeal Bill, was the result of an exhaustive inquiry into the conditions of the commercial and industrial system of Great Britain and her colonies, and was at first a narrowly conservative one. From the future champion of free trade Mr. Gladstone accepted the post of President of the Board of Trade—a post which carries Cabinet rank—and it was here that he first showed that a man who never took kindly to mathematics in his college days might become the most skilful master of vast and intricate financial problems. It is a singular fact that no English Chancellor of the Exchequer ever approached Mr. Gladstone in the art of unfolding the voluminous outlines and minutiae of a budget, or ever invested a statement dependent in a great measure on statistical recital with the attractions of a deep philosophical thesis, as he invariably did. His first revelation of this peculiar talent was made in 1843, and it is a coincidence that suggests the hidden affinities of moral forces that he should have retired soon after from the office because of certain questions which arose in connection with the Maynooth grant, and which he thought might affect his relation toward the Established Church. Who could

have dreamed at the time that before many years had passed the same man would have been engaged in the task of legally terminating the life of the Established Church in Ireland, part and parcel of the one to which he was so steadfastly attached—and abolishing at the same time the connection between the Government and the College of Maynooth ? It was a curious augury.

The scrupulous quality of Mr. Gladstone's mind was strikingly displayed in the way in which he ceased to be President of the Board of Trade. Sir Robert Peel's ideas of conciliating Ireland ran in the direction of increasing the grant to Maynooth, setting up a system of unsectarian "Queen's" Colleges, and establishing a police force sufficient to overawe the country. To one item in this programme—the increase in the Maynooth grant—Mr. Gladstone objected. The reason he gave was that he did not sufficiently understand the question to speak in favor of the proposal, though he might be able to commend it when he had had leisure to examine it. Hence, although he was strongly urged by friends like Archdeacon Manning, who had not yet seceded, to remain in the Cabinet because of the great service he might be to the English Church, he felt conscientiously bound to leave. The fact that he afterwards spoke and voted, as a private member of Parliament, in favor of the increase in the Maynooth grant proves no paradox ; it only shows that in private life he had been enabled to give that attention to the subject that in his official capacity was beyond his power. In this incident we have the most valuable clue to Mr. Gladstone's character and the mystery of his influence over his friends and supporters. Even in England, where public office is certainly regarded as a public trust, and political reputation is no figment with the majority of high political officials, the resignation was regarded as somewhat Quixotic on the part of a young and rising politician. But when the motive was thoroughly understood, and Mr. Gladstone's general character placed in the scales along with it, the theory of eccentricity or erratic knight-errantry quickly kicked the beam. His great intellectual and oratorical powers, combined with a charming gift of conversation in private life, had made him hosts of friends ; the fascination he was thus enabled to exercise was vastly intensified when it was seen how delicate was his conception of public honor.

The clue thus afforded enables us to explain satisfactorily how it came to pass that in the course of years Mr. Gladstone's political leanings and convictions underwent a change not the less completely antithetical for the fact of being slow and gradual. Given a man with a profound sense of justice, a scrupulous nicety in

personal dealings, and a susceptible ardent nature, sympathizing with all subjected to preventible suffering, and it will be impossible for him long to give his support to those social and political theories upon which the Tory and aristocratic system of Great Britain rests. The miseries of the mass of humanity will be brought home to him in a million ways ; his sense of justice will revolt at the political inequalities which prevent the toiling millions from improving their social and intellectual position by the machinery of the constitutional law. Especially will he be touched by the spectacle of the sufferings of the female and infantine portion of the population, whose dependent condition makes them the innocent victims of the hardships which an oppressive social and political system entails upon the sterner and more responsible section of mankind. These things stir no emotions in the average Tory partisan. If Tories do ever attempt any ameliorative legislation in their regard, it is because they are impelled thereto by the pressure of their political opponents.

Mr. Gladstone's conversion might not have been so long delayed had he carried out the intention which he had at one time formed with regard to Ireland. He wrote to a close friend of his so far back as the year 1845 on the subject of making a short tour of the island. His foresight on the subject was very remarkable. "Ireland is likely to find this country and Parliament so much work for years to come," he wrote, "that I feel rather oppressively an obligation to try and see with my own eyes instead of using those of other people, according to the limited measure of my means eschewing all grandeur and taking little account even of scenery, compared with the purpose of looking from close quarters at the institutions for religion and education of the country and at the character of the people." It is greatly to be deplored that he never carried out this excellent idea. Had he done so, the Irish famine might have been averted and the abortive rebellion of 1848 been unattempted. Sir Robert Peel went over instead, indulged in his famous "jaunting-car" tour of six days, and then hastened back to gestate his police force plan after consultation with the permanent officials of Dublin Castle. Mr. Gladstone only saw Ireland—and then only for a few days in the retirement of Lord Meath's Kilruddery seat,—thirty years later. There is nothing more astonishing than the neglect of English statesmen in this regard. They coolly undertake to settle the most tremendous legislative difficulty of modern times without attempting to inform themselves of the real wants and wishes of the people who only are affected by the legislation

they propose. When we consider that the island is only three hours' sail from the shores of England, this neglect appears simply astounding. Before the advent of Mr. Morley, the only prominent Englishman of our age who had visited Ireland for the purpose of gaining a practical knowledge of its people and their condition was Mr. Bright, and what he learned in his tour was turned to good account in the many sympathetic speeches he afterwards delivered on the subject. This melancholy fact is the more to be deplored and marveled at when we consider the immense injury inflicted on Ireland by the writings of a different class of tourists—cynics like Carlyle and Thackeray who hated the people for their misery no less than their religion, and who spoke of them as “human swine” and slaves who ought to be scourged for their gross superstition in going on pilgrimages to Croaghpatrick and Lough Derg. With the intensity of such devotion Mr. Gladstone might not, perhaps, quite sympathize, but he certainly would have respected the spirit which prompted it and would have been the last man in the world to sneer at it.

This writing has no biographical scope or intent, but merely aims at leading inquiry and study in the direction of the motives and sources of inspiration of a great master-mind whose influence made itself felt on the great affairs of our time in a way almost unexampled. The secret of this far-reaching influence is to be sought for in the deep conscientious enthusiasm of Mr. Gladstone's character. This was not a feature that only came with the later period of life, as in so many other cases, where the zeal of maturity endeavors to atone for the indifference or mere worldly expediency of motive or conduct of early days. We find Mr. Gladstone taking the same attitude several times over great international issues. He differed from most Englishmen of note at the period of the Crimean War, when the question of making peace with Russia was mooted. His view of the morality of war was put forward with singular boldness and lucidity. Russia had intimated her willingness to give Turkey the power of opening and closing the Dardanelles, and this, in the view of Mr. Gladstone, was a reasonable offer of settlement. “If we now fought merely for military success,” he said, “it would appear immoral, inhuman, and un-Christian. If the war were continued in order to obtain military glory we should tempt the justice of Him in whose hands was the fate of armies to launch upon us His wrath.” When Mr. Gladstone used these words he had resigned his position in Lord Aberdeen's Government,—that of Chancellor of the Exchequer,—as he could not agree with its policy. A similar conscien-

tious reason was assigned by him, many years later, with regard to the Boer war. He shrank from persevering with it, he said, through fear of "incurring blood-guiltiness"—an admission that the policy of his Tory predecessors with regard to the Transvaal was one of unjustifiable aggression. Yet he was not always consistent in this regard, as we may perceive from his stern repression of the revolt of Arabi Pasha—a revolt that had the strongest possible grounds of moral justification. The oppression under which the Egyptian fellahs groaned was a thousand times more galling and intolerable than that of the subjects of King "Bomba," which in earlier years had called forth his memorable letters and orations on the state of Naples. But we must not conclude, because there was seeming inconsistency at times in Mr. Gladstone's dealing with great international problems, that he was not animated by motives which satisfied himself in all. He was not a man of expediency, as he very frequently proved during his long public career, but an exception to the great majority of men placed at the summit of political power.

Those who sit in judgment on such men, because of their failure to sweep away great abuses in the social or political system seem to overlook the fact that no reformer can effect anything until he has the support of public sentiment, and can count upon that of his party as well. Thus, one of the reasons alleged by Mr. Gladstone for his assault on the Established Church in Ireland has been frequently quoted against him as a negative proof that justice did not always prompt his policy. "It was the intensity of Fenianism," Mr. Gladstone had explained, that first opened his eyes to the injustice of the system. Something dramatic was, undoubtedly, needed, in order to awaken public opinion and elicit support in the policy which the Premier had resolved on as a step toward the pacification of Ireland; hence Mr. Gladstone's argument to the fears as well as the justice of the English constituencies. But there can be little doubt, from what we know of his previous study of Irish affairs, that he waited but for the proper "psychological moment" to give expression to his ideas of the inequity of the whole Irish system, executive, judicial, ecclesiastical and civil. We know from his published letters that he had long felt misgivings about the position of the so-called Irish Church. His attitude subsequently on the Land question proved him to be animated by the genuine spirit of justice and sympathy for the victims of oppression. The phrase "thick as snow-flakes," by which he described the showers of eviction-notices scattered by the grasping landlords, gave historical force to a philippic prompted by genuine

feeling and abhorrence of harsh dealing by the landed aristocracy. These memorable passages of legislative reform may well be studied by the philosopher and psychologist. As long as human action and the human heart are the proper study of mankind, so long must the subtle and complex character of Mr. Gladstone's reasoning, as applied to great human problems, form one of the most interesting of inquiries.

As a literary man, Mr. Gladstone has left a reputation hardly commensurate with his great promise and his undoubted ambition in that direction. With all his vast range of reading and personal observation he was not possessed of that charm of style which ought to be the result of his rare opportunities of training and uninterrupted reading. And yet it was not from any want of appreciation of style in others that he does not show any great desire to cultivate it himself. We gather this from many of his writings and speeches, notably from that portion of "Gleanings of Past Years" which compares Macaulay and Carlyle. The fact that he had been a literary opponent of Macaulay's over the work "Church and State" did not make him either less of an admirer of the showy historian or an apologist of his defects.

Homer, Dante and Milton appear to have been the poets who most swayed Mr. Gladstone's feelings, yet in very late life he became so enamored of Horace as to give us a very passable rendering of the Odes. The closing years of his life, freed from the sublime worry of statecraft, exhibit a rare example of that ideal Elysium of the patriarch contemplated by that pleasant singer himself :

Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoē, dones et, precor, integra
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec cithara carentem.

He turned in his later hours from the study and interpretation of the profane poets to lyrics more in accordance with the solemnity of a valediction. Newman's Cecilian hymn, "Praise to the Holiest," was of great solace to him, and we have the statement of one who was near the death-bed scene that a poem of the erudite Jesuit, Father Matthew Russell, was the very last piece read to him on earth. This fact seems so remarkable that we are justified in quoting the piece. It is one of those which have appeared in the "Irish Monthly" over the same signature, and is entitled "My Last Rondeau." The lines are these :

My dying hour, how near art thou?
Or near or far my head I bow,

Before God's ordinance supreme ;
 But, ah ! how priceless then will seem
 Each moment rashly squandered now !

Teach me, for Thou canst teach me, how
 These fleeting instants to endow
 With words that may the past redeem,
 My dying hour !

My barque that late with buoyant prow,
 The sunny waves did gaily plough,
 Now, through the sunset's fading gleam,
 Drifts dimly shoreward in a dream.
 I feel the land breeze on my brow,
 My dying hour !

Though this great soul failed to realize the final truth before he passed away, it is comforting to know that he touched the hem of Christ's Spouse's garment, so to speak, by accepting the solace derived from those thoughts of two of her most distinguished children, before the seal of numbness came upon lips and will. The prayers of many of Ireland's Catholic people, responsive to the request of the Archbishop of Dublin, begged for the grace of a penultimate revelation of the true way. Who knows but it may have been vouchsafed, though the mind was powerless to signify the desire of the soul ?

The study of this greatest of England's Premiers' life must soon absorb the attention of many minds. It presents so many sides, that not to the politician nor the scholar nor the economist alone will it be interesting. Gladstone was history in action dealing with the profoundest problems, international, social, and psychical. He was not all at once a Nestor or a Ulysses ; he had his share of the weaknesses from which even high statesmen are not exempt. But he dealt with public affairs in a spirit of honor and rectitude, and so conferred upon statesmanship a dignity in which it has not seldom, unhappily, been lacking. We await the fuller biography of him with the expectation that it may enable us to form a more intelligent idea of his inner motives and theories of just government than the works yet written enable us to do. Mr. McCarthy's "Life" is agreeable and graphically written, but it is naturally defective, because synoptical. We must have the correspondence of the deceased statesman,—or as much of the vast mass, at least, as will serve to illuminate his greater achievements—before we can grasp the lesson of that rare life and weigh it in the scales of impartial appraisement.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

SIR JOHN T. GILBERT.

MANY more brilliant men have died during the century, few more really useful to letters and history, than Sir John Thomas Gilbert, who recently passed away, at a sudden call, in Dublin. It is difficult, in this age of show and meretriciousness in the field of literature, to appraise the merits of such a worker as he. For him accuracy was everything. In the search of historical truth he never spared an effort, no matter how laborious. Were it necessary to verify a statement of importance, arising in the course of any large work upon which he was presently engaged, he would travel to the libraries of Copenhagen, or Upsala, or Cologne, to verify it by means of MSS. which he knew to be there. And in the exact placing of historical MSS. there was no scholar better versed. It was only necessary to mention the name of any authoritative historical work to him in order to learn where one should go to look for it.

There was more, perhaps, of the archæologist than the historian about this painstaking scholar. If what is styled "the historical temperament" signifies the steadfast resolution to get to the bottom of the truth in all great questions of public import, no man was more highly endowed than he. But if what is understood be the faculty of Macaulay, the power to present great and seemingly commonplace occurrences in glowing and impressive word-pastels, no writer was ever more inadequately equipped. His style was entirely destitute of the Celtic adornment; it was terseness and simplicity crystallized. And the most singular feature in connection with the fact was that the style was by no means the man in this case. The deceased gentleman was a Celt every inch—a man of wit and playful fancy, simple-hearted as a child, and fond of innocent, child-like gaiety. And it is perfectly true to say that no man ever loved learning for learning's sake more devotedly than he. He sacrificed his private means, his time, his health, in pursuit of the truth of history, and in especial in so far as it related to the sufferings of the Catholic Church and the Catholic people in Ireland; for no sincerer or less ostentatious upholder of the faith of St. Patrick ever breathed than this gifted

scholar. Love of religion and love of country were his great characteristics. The name and fame of Ireland were as dear to him as to the most passionate patriot. It is well-known that these proclivities of his were an immense obstacle in the way of his worldly success.

It was only very recently that the priceless labors of this eminent scholar found any recognition in those quarters whose approval is essential to real success in all monarchical countries. The Queen's jubilee at last brought the title which the historian's labors had long before richly merited. He was sixty-eight years old when the honor came, and had earned the thanks and gratitude of the whole English-speaking world of letters for his masterly contributions to exact history. Sir John Gilbert's principal published works are: "History of the City of Dublin," 3 vols., 8vo., 1854-59; "History of the Viceroy of Ireland, 1172-1509," 1865; "Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172-1320," 8vo., 1870; "National Manuscripts of Ireland," 5 vols., large folio; "History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-52," 6 parts, 1879-81; "History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-43," 2 vols., 1882; various Treatises on History and the Literature of Great Britain and Ireland, published by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London, 1870-83; "The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, near Dublin," 1883; "the Chartulary of Dunbrody Abbey," 1884; "Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin," 1889; "Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin," 1890; and "Documents Relating to Ireland, 1795-1804," 1893.

To the general reader the "Street History of Dublin" is the most interesting of all this series. It is a work almost unique. Not only are the various streets of the Irish metropolis treated of, but the individual houses of the streets, the famous personages who lived in them, the vicissitudes of each locality, and the famous events of which, in the course of centuries, they were the theatre. Without any pretence of style, we venture to declare this remarkable civic chronicle to be as entertaining a piece of literature as ever was compiled. For this work he was awarded the Cunningham gold medal of the Royal Irish Academy in 1862. A work of a vastly different character was his republication of the ancient MSS. of the Dublin Corporation. These precious documents, which are contained in the muniment room of the Town Council, embrace many charters—the original one of Henry the Second, another of Elizabeth's, one of James the Second's, and another of William the Third's. They are immense sheets of parchment,

and all splendidly illuminated. The text of the earlier ones is in Norman-French and mediæval Latin ; that of the latter in obsolete English. Mr. Gilbert's great forte was as a decipherer of these almost esoteric scripts. He was versed in every form of abbreviation and every forgotten grammatical term of mediæval days, and his renderings of those obsolete charters have proved of much substantial value to the Dublin municipality as well as of high interest to scholars and historians.

It may be added that Sir John Gilbert's "History of the Irish Confederation" has proved of immense service in the clearing up of the monstrous fables of the Cromwellian chroniclers. The facts as to the pretended massacre are carefully inquired into, and the documentary evidence adduced dispels all doubts about the real character of that formidable political movement.

On the publication of all these works, we believe we are correct in asserting, as we have had his own assurance as to the principal ones, Sir John Gilbert was a heavy pecuniary loser. But he never got discouraged, so great was his zeal for the prosecution of the truth and the interests of the Church and people whom he so ardently loved. Besides this depressing circumstance, he sustained heavy losses by reason of the failure of the Munster Bank a few years ago, and for a time grave fears for his health were entertained by his friends on that account. Up to that period of his life he had been leading a bachelor's life, but it was at the time that his fortunes appeared to be darkest that one of those strange things happened which serve to remind us of the silver lining of life's clouds. It was announced that he had married the gifted Irish authoress, Miss Rosa Mulholland—a fact at which every one who knew him rejoiced. It is consoling to think that the later years of the patient scholar's life were lighted by such sympathetic companionship, and the thousands who have been captured by the charming novelist's work will prize her all the more highly while they respectfully sympathize with her in her sudden bereavement.

Sir John Gilbert held the post of Librarian of the Royal Irish Academy (an honorary office) almost continuously from the year 1861 until his death. He was born in Dublin, where his father was Consul for Portugal, in 1829. He was educated at Dublin and in England. In 1867 he was appointed Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland, an office which he continued to hold until its abolition in 1875. He edited "Fac-similes of National Manuscripts of Ireland," by command of the Queen. He was a Governor of the National Gallery of Ireland, a Trustee, on behalf of the Crown, of the National Library of Ireland, Inspector of

MSS. in Ireland for the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Librarian and Member of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin ; Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Trustee of the National Library of Ireland, Hon. Professor of Archæology in the Royal Academy of Arts, Dublin ; editor of a series of publications entitled, "Historic Literature of Ireland," and also editor in the collection of "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland." He received the Gold Medal of the Royal Irish Academy, and was thanked by the Corporation of Dublin for his antiquarian labors. He gave an impetus to Celtic studies by effecting the publication of some of the most important manuscripts in the Irish language, now lying on the shelves of the Royal Irish Academy, and forming a collection probably unequalled of its kind. This is a fact which ought to have more recognition among Celtic scholars than it has hitherto been accorded. But indeed he was a man who sought very little of the world's recognition in anything to which he bent his unselfish mind. He sought for higher things than this world can give, and we sincerely pray that he has now found them.



Scientific Chronicle.

BISHOP BAGSHAWE AND THE EVOLUTIONISTS' CYCLES.

Bishop Bagshawe is one of the most formidable foes of the Darwinian hypothesis of creation, and he states his views with the directness and logical force of a steam-hammer. Not long ago he took up the familiar assumption of the descent of the horse, put forward by Mr. Edmonstone, an enthusiastic Darwinite, and dealt with the heads of his argument thus categorically : "Organs in a rudimentary condition plainly show that an early progenitor had the organ in a fully-developed condition," says Darwin. "Pray, why must the Creator have evolved one out of the other, instead of immediately creating both forms? That He should have created a vast number of species on one general plan, with innumerable and beautiful variations, is much more likely than that He should have evolved one out of another. 1. Because there is no evidence of any evolution having taken place in historical times. The animals on ancient monuments in all respects resemble modern ones. 2. Because experience proves that cross-breeds do not continue to be fertile, and that, therefore, no new species can be evolved. 3. Because the varieties and improvements which the care of man can make in some half-dozen species of domestic animals come to an end and revert to a common type so soon as man's care, with its root-crop feeding, etc., is withdrawn. 4. Because the evolution of species by natural selection and sexual selection only is evidently an impossible result. The chances are millions to one that no new species, nor even variety, could be evolved by fortuitous accidental variations. If varieties produced by exact and careful breeding cannot be perpetuated without the same care, how much less could they be produced without it?"

Darwin's weakest point is his avoidance of the difficulty of the origin of life. Nor does Huxley or Tyndall or Herbert Spencer or Romanes throw any light worth a moment's thought on that profound mystery. But what is more disappointing still, they are unable to explain the most familiar and every-day phenomena in the mental world—the method of operation of the human intellect and the human will—matter that may be studied, one might say, with as much ease and facility as the phenomena of the physical world. The theories of the evolutionists are chiefly daring inferences; Bishop Bagshawe demonstrates clearly that their method of argument is two-edged, and can be as easily utilized for the demolition of the theory as for its construction.

Regarding Father Cortie's recent lecture on "The Age of the Sun," Bishop Bagshawe thus answers some of the Darwinian critics :

"Father Cortie, the Jesuit astronomer of Stonyhurst, did not use the argument attributed to him, viz., that the fact that the speculations of astronomers were considerably at variance was a sufficient reason for rejecting the hypotheses of biologists. His argument was that Darwinism is inconsistent with the received doctrines of astronomy. Darwin reckons at least two hundred millions of years as necessary for his supposed evolution. Astronomy tells that the light and heat of the sun have not existed much more than a tenth part of that period. Darwin does not pretend that there is even the least existing proof of his supposition. The received theory of astronomy is that the expenditure of the sun's heat is supplied by its contraction, and reckoning from the amount of heat thus supplied and expended, assigns to it a past duration of twenty million years, and a future duration of five millions, when, according to Newcomb, the sun will be reduced to one-half his present volume. Darwin's improved and ridiculous imaginations should yield to the calculations of astronomical science."

Astronomy is regarded as one of the exact sciences, and its great ascertained facts and laws are matters of mathematical demonstration, not mere deduction and speculation. Hence the force of Father Cortie's logic and Bishop Bagshawe's, as compared with the uncertain and merely speculative basis of the Darwinian theorists.

SOME SIMPLE DISINFECTANTS.

The philosophic Bishop Berkeley was a fanatical believer in the virtues of tar-water as a sort of universal panacea. Tar-water has good anti-septic properties, there is no doubt, but it is not very easily procured. But lime-water is much better, and is universally procurable. It is a most valuable agency in cases of diphtheria. Its local effect is most useful in cleansing and purifying the throat, and its mode of application is the easiest imaginable. It requires no spray apparatus, no douching, and no effort at gargling. It is sufficient to have the patient slowly swallow a teaspoonful or more every hour, in order to get good results from its use. This fact is of the greatest importance in treating children, who are too often cruelly tortured in the attempt to make local applications to the throat. In diphtheria cases a disinfectant is an indispensable precaution, and one of the most readily accessible and most efficacious is sulphur. The most convenient method of fumigation is to drop a small pinch of sulphur upon a hot stove, if there is one in the room ; if there is no stove in the room, a few coals on a shovel or other convenient utensil may be carried into the room, and the sulphur dropped on the coals. A little experience soon enables any one to determine how much sulphur to burn in each room. If a little too much sulphur is used, causing offensive fumes, the doors and windows may be opened for a minute or two. Sulphur fumes are found to permeate every crevice in the house, therefore the product is a most effectual method of disinfection and preventative against the spread of disease.

THE TELESCOPE FOR SUBMARINE EXPLORATION.

An extremely ingenious adaptation of electricity to optics, for the purpose of examining sunken wrecks, the bed of the sea, or objects lying thereon, has been made by a Russian engineer. It is claimed for this invention that it is serviceable at as great a depth as sixty feet ; and in all probability this large scope may be increased by improvement on the original mechanism and idea in accordance with the invariable law of scientific discovery. The apparatus is composed of a pair of glasses similar to the field-glass, to the further ends of which are long cylinders which are placed in the water. At the extremity of the cylinders or tubes are shorter tubes, leaving the former at right angles, and at their extremity are hermetically sealed zinc cases with glass fronts containing incandescent lamps. The object examined is illuminated by the lamps, and the image passing through the lower tubes is reflected upward by means of mirrors placed where the tubes are joined. Here it is properly magnified by lenses before entering the retina of the eye.

THE GOLD CURE FOR SNAKE-BITE.

Pasteur is dead, but his spirit lives in his pupils. One of the most brilliant of these, Dr. Calmette, is stationed at the Anamite port of Saigon, where he is director of the Bacteriological Institute. He is credited with a discovery which must prove invaluable in tropical and sub-tropical countries, where venomous reptiles are most deadly. It is an antidote for snake-bite. The peculiarity of this antidote is that its application involves no pain or ill-effects, as many other antidotes do. The antidote is, moreover, described as perfectly efficacious. It consists of a 1 per cent. solution of chloride of gold, ten drops of which, injected into a guinea-pig, pigeon, or rabbit, immediately suffices to destroy the toxic nature of a drop of the snake venom. Five to ten cubic centimetres of the solution are sufficient to counteract the poison of a bite which is fatal to a dog, a monkey, and probably a man. The dose gives no ill effects. It causes no pain, and by increasing it absolute immunity from the poison is obtained. The sole condition to be fulfilled is that the solution should be reliable, sterilized, and kept in a dark phial to preserve it from the influence of sunlight. It is injected with an ordinary hypodermic syringe.

In connection with this subject we find a remarkable instance of what we may call natural homoeopathy noted in the Paris *Revue Scientifique*. M. Paul Bert, a former Cabinet Minister, if we mistake not, has given up politics for natural history, and especially the study of entomology, and in the ever-widening field he has made some very valuable observations. Amongst other discoveries he records is that of the efficacy of the hornet's virus in counteracting the poison of the viper. According

to him and to M. Cloez, the poison of the carpenter-bee owes its activity to the presence of an organic base in union with an unknown fixed acid. According to M. Langer, in the venom of the bee there is found a small quantity of formic acid, but the toxic substance is an alkaloid that resists heat and cold as well as the action of acids. But although there is thus disagreement on the subject of the chemical composition of this poison, it is not the same with its physiologic action. P. Bert, having caused the carpenter-bee to sting sparrows, saw them die from stoppage of respiration, in complete paralysis; and recently M. Langer has killed rabbits and dogs by inoculating them with bee-poison, their symptoms being similar to those of poisoning by the bite of the viper. The poison extracted from the stings of fifteen hornets, injected into the leg of a guinea-pig, caused a lowering of temperature by 4° , which lasted thirty-six hours. At the point of inoculation were produced redness and swelling, which finally reached the abdomen and ended in mortification of the skin. In a similar experiment, where the same dose of poison was heated to 80° for twenty minutes, there was no general injury and the local action was confined to a slight temporary swelling. Likewise the inoculation of a glycerinated maceration of hornets caused only slight local troubles. But the organism of the animals that received this poison underwent such modifications that they became able to resist a subsequent inoculation with viper's poison. This resistance is such that a guinea-pig thus immunized can support, without the least danger, a dose of viper's poison capable of killing him ordinarily in four to five hours. The duration of this immunity varies from five to eleven days. Thus the poison of the hornet possesses a slight antitoxic action against that of the viper; while, when inoculated at the same time as the latter, it retards death considerably.

THE METAL TRANSMUTATION THEORY AGAIN EXPLODED.

Recently we commented on the efforts made by Dr. Emmens to prove that the transmutation theory was not chimerical, but a fact demonstrable by experiment. Dr. Emmens was so far successful in getting his views accepted as to induce our own governmental authorities to give his process a trial, but with what result we are left in the dark. We may, however, conjecture, for a very eminent authority has put the theory to the proof, and found it untenable.

Sir William Crookes has tested the process for deriving gold from silver, under the doctor's own directions, and declares that it is an utter failure. He assayed a great many Mexican dollars before he could find two that were free from gold. These were subjected to the process for 100 hours and no gold appeared. This experiment ought to dispose of the fallacy once for all, as it would be hard to find a more competent scientific expert than the inventor of the famous Crookes' tubes.

MENTALITY TO SUPPLANT MEDICINE.

Medical science is perhaps the most prolific in progressive results of all the branches of study. Within living recollection there has been a complete revolution in the theory and treatment of disease, and the general aim of the new school is to discard medicine as much as possible and work on purely natural and constitutional lines for the restoration of health. Other and greater triumphs are dreamed of by many enthusiasts. The power of the mind alone, acting under scientific regulation, is looked to as the great hygienic agency of the future by at least one enthusiast. Professor Gates, of Washington, has been closely studying the influence of the emotions upon the health, and he has published some startling deductions and speculations thereon. He has made many experiments upon animals—and here, we think, he and other investigators err in concluding that the human subject may be subject to the same physical laws and manifest like effects under like treatment. But his experience, and his hopes based on it, are worthy of serious attention. He argues in this way :

" Mind is life. Life is not something different from mind. The life of a cell is its mind. The activities of a cell are psychological activities, and therefore the regulation of the psychological activities of cells and multicells is the basis of the long-looked-for fundamental laws of cure ; therein lies the key to the mystery of disease and pain and evil, and therefore also lies the Ariadne's clew to health and happiness and success. I think no impartial mind can review with me the evidence upon which these conclusions are based and doubt for a moment that life and vitality and psychic processes are solely mental processes. If so, then we are in sight of the law of health and disease and crime, and we see it not by faith or through mysticism or symbolism, but through the medium of verified facts which are conquerors of scientific knowledge, and the study of this law comes within the province of strictest scientific research. If we can know how to regulate mind processes then we can cure disease—all disease. There are two methods of regulating the mind in an organism—first by varying the environment conditions and the bodily conditions of the organism, and thus bringing about modifications of the mental activities ; and, second, by causing the organism voluntarily to vary its own mental activities, and thus change its bodily structures and its chemisms and environments."

Discussing brain-building as a means of curing disease, he asks : " If destruction of cortical areas produces disease of corresponding organs, may we not expect that the strengthening and up-building of these areas will produce development and health in these organs ? " He believes the same curative methods may be effectively applied to the morally diseased, declaring that the time will come when criminals will not be allowed to grow up as criminals, but the state will see to it that criminally inclined children are cured during early school years.

It must seem that here we have a fallacy akin to that which formed

the stumbling-block for Archimedes. If he had but his fulcrum, he would, no doubt, have moved the world. The human mind may be easy to study—to some—but not so easy to steer. If men could only learn how to control the wind, there would be no great difficulty about aerial navigation. But the laws of thought and will are a far more profound problem than the laws of meteorology, and so we fear that Professor Gates's bold hypothesis may never reach actual demonstration.

A NEW ASPECT OF "NATURAL SELECTION."

It is not long since a scientific gentleman of Chicago dwelt on the value of suicide to the human race in depriving the world of the life of the useless insane and the epileptically inclined. This repulsive view has its counterpart in the estimate of the value of intemperance toward the same end recently put forward by Mr. G. A. Reid in *Science*. His argument is ingenious, and it seems to rest on a basis of fact, but which when examined closely will be seen to be nothing more than inference and general deduction. Still, the matter has attracted much attention, and it is useful to notice it. He argues in this fashion :

" Certain powerful narcotics (*e.g.*, alcohol and opium) are great causes of elimination. Races (*e.g.*, Greeks, Italians, South Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese) which have long possessed a cheap and abundant supply of alcohol are the least prone to excessive indulgence of all races on earth ; while other races (*e.g.*, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, Russians, etc.), which have had a less extended experience, are more prone to intemperance. Yet other races (*e.g.*, savages of all kinds, whether inhabiting the frigid, the temperate, or the torrid zones), who have had little or no experience of alcohol, crave for that narcotic so intensely that, in the presence of an abundant supply and the absence of prohibitory laws, they perish of excessive indulgence.

" Let the reader think awhile. Why does he not get drunk ? Is it because he constantly resists the craving, or because the craving does not exist in him ? I think he will say, 'the latter.' But has he no acquaintance, reared and living under much the same conditions, who drinks to excess, though all his interests call him to abstain ? I think he is sure to have such an acquaintance. Now, in this respect nations like the Italians or the Spaniards are mainly composed of individuals like my reader, while nations like the American Indians or the native Australians are mainly composed of individuals like his unfortunate acquaintance.

" Here is a significant fact : old records seem to prove that the classic races were anciently much more intemperate than at the present time. For instance, the temperance question was formerly a burning one in Greece, where unhappy Helots were made to furnish 'awful examples'

to the aristocratic youth. Here is another: the deadly narcotic opium has been in use for some hundreds of years in India, and never or very rarely does a native of that country take it to excess; it has been in use for about two hundred years in China, and most of the Chinese are temperate, though some take it to excess; it was recently introduced into Burmah, and, practically speaking, all Burmans take it to such excess that they perish of it, and, therefore, in their own country the English have forbidden the use of opium to Burmans alone, while permitting it to all other peoples, just as in Canada alcohol is forbidden to the aborigines alone. Here is a third: tobacco causes little or no elimination, and, therefore, the craving for it is as strong in races that have longest used it as among races to which its use is comparatively strange."

Mr. Reid has been attacked for starting this theory, chiefly by friends of the temperance movement. But surely nothing can be gained by treating a purely scientific problem from such a standpoint. Scientific men have a high duty to perform to society in noting the truth in whatever field of investigation they adventure, and their motives should not be questioned by those who are also laboring for the welfare of mankind, through from a different starting-point.

BALLOONING IN RAILWAY PROPULSION.

Interest in aéronautics is re-awakened by the report that Professor Andree had been heard from. The news, unfortunately, proved to be too good to be true, and people have almost given up hope of ever seeing or hearing from that bold explorer again. The general subject of ballooning is one, however, that can never fail to awaken interest and invention; and, since the era of hostilities with Spain set in, attention is being given to the various ways in which aerial navigation may be utilized either for the purposes of direct warfare or scientific purposes in connection with war. Some of the plans proposed are as startling as anything ever dreamed of by Jules Verne in his wildest fits of scientific prophecy. We learn that the War Department is actually considering the merits (?) of a machine contrived so as to be able to soar into the air with a load of a thousand pounds, and capable of being steered wherever wanted. The thousand pounds weight, in this case, is contemplated to consist of dynamite, and it is the humanitarian intention to let this ballast go when the machine is vertical over a city or an army, and watch for results. If the idea of this machine can come within the scope of practice, it may possibly be the most humane thing ever invented, for war would then have become so like the great catastrophes of nature—such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions—in its effects, that no two nations able to procure such dreadful engines of destruction would ever dream of resorting to it. Toward such a result, indeed, the

trend of military science seems to be just now. There are fields of more genuine usefulness, however, for the science of aërostatics, and one of these is the supplying of the motive-power to the mountain railway. This idea has actually been tentatively applied in the hill-country of Bavaria, and the experiments have been pronounced satisfactory. A balloon is attached to the roof of a railway car, with the result that the force of the traction is directed vertically. A single rail is used, for the double purpose of directing the course of the train and keeping the balloon captive. To this end, the rail is made T-shaped, and the car grips it from the sides and from below. It is anchored to the ground at distances of about fifteen feet. In the descent the propelling force is gravity, and the balloon acts as a check to prevent accelerated motion. A ballast of water, taken up at the top of the mountain, provides the additional downward force required. The truck carries the water receptacle, which can be opened by the aéronauts during the journey. The truck and receptacle together weigh about 660 pounds, and when there is no wind the receptacle carries about 1100 pounds of water, making a total weight of 1760 pounds. When it is windy the strain between the balloon and the truck is diminished by letting the water out of the receptacle, thus compensating for the difference in power. The difference in weight caused by passengers entering or leaving the car is regulated by the use of separate weights. The inventors, Messrs. Volderauer and Brackebusch, purpose making a balloon with a diameter of 65 feet 7 inches, and a lifting power of 10,560 pounds. The balloon, car, net, rope, etc., weigh 4620 pounds, and an allowance of 3300 pounds is made for passengers and aéronauts, leaving a margin of 2640 pounds.

FALSE TEETH MADE ASSIMILABLE TO THE HUMAN SYSTEM.

It is given out that a Moscow dentist, Dr. Zamesky, has solved the problem of supplying the human mouth with false teeth which will grow into the gums as firmly as natural ones. The inventor is said to have performed several successful operations on dogs, as well as human beings. The teeth are made of gutta-percha, porcelain or metal, as the case may be. At the root of the false tooth holes are made. Holes are also made upward into the jaw. The tooth is then placed in the cavity. In a short time a soft, granulated growth finds its way from the patient's jaw into the holes in the tooth. This growth gradually hardens, and holds the tooth in position. It is stated that it does not matter whether the cavity in which the tooth is to be placed is one from which a natural tooth has been drawn recently, or whether it has been healed for some years.

When first it was reported that human bones had been successfully

grafted from the osseous structure of inferior animals we thought an era in physiology had been reached ; but when we find that such foreign matter as gutta-percha is susceptible of assimilation to the human maxilla, the vista of possibilities presented by the discovery might form easily a new chapter of "Alice in Wonderland."

MINERALOGY AND ETHNOLOGY OF THE PHILIPPINES.

Much haziness of notion prevails with regard to the now interesting Philippine Archipelago, and as there seems to be a strong likelihood that Americans may soon possess a deeper concern in the subject than any other people, it is fortunate that some more definite and reliable information is becoming available. Mr. Frank Karuth, F.R.G.S., president of a great English mineral syndicate in the Philippines, has forwarded to our Government, through Ambassador Hay, a very valuable synopsis on the geology and ethnology of the islands, giving many particulars of its mineral wealth. Mr. Karuth says, amongst other things :

" I know of no other part of the world, the Alaska Treadwell mines excepted, where pay ore is found within a few hundred yards of the anchorage of sea-going vessels. So far the fringe only of the auriferous formation has been touched. There is no brook that finds its way into the Pacific Ocean whose sand and gravel do not at least pan the color of gold. Heavy nuggets are sometimes brought down from the sierras, where, I believe, there are promising fields for hydraulic mining. Alluvial gold is also got in the Island of Mindanao, especially in the districts of Surigao and Misimis, on its northern coast. Extensive deposits of copper ore occur in Luzon, which will probably prove remunerative when means of transport have been devised. Galena, both auriferous and argentiferous, is found in veins in Luzon and Cebu, sometimes accompanied by zinc blends.

" I do not know of the occurrence of true coal in the islands. The beds which have been intermittently worked in the islands of Cebu and Masbate consist of lignite of very good quality. Some years ago large outcrops of such coal were found near the beach in the Island of Masbate, but most of it, which could be got without mining, has been removed for the use of interinsular steamers. One of the syndicate's engineers, a man of experience as manager of coal mines in Lancashire, found Masbate coal quite useful for steamers. He calculates the quantity of coal available in a concession of about 60 acres at 1,200,000 tons. The Masbate beds are so tilted as to form an angle of 70° with the horizontal.

" I have also evidence of the occurrence of gems in an upper valley of the sierra. One of the engineers observed in a sample of roughly washed alluvial gold brought down by the aborigines certain small

stones, which, on examination in the School of Mines in Kensington, were found to be rubies and hyacinths.

"The number of the islands which form the Philippine Archipelago will astonish many readers. It is said to approach two thousand. There are two amongst them larger than Ireland—namely, Luzon with 42,000, and Mindanao with 38,000 square miles; and there are other islands with 5500, 5000, 4500, 4000, 3500, and 3000 square miles. The character of the fauna and flora of the Philippine Islands is, to a certain extent, of the Melanesian or Australian type, and differs widely from that of the Malayan Archipelago, from which it is separated by a narrow but very deep strip of sea. The Philippines rejoice in that distinctly Australian bird, the cockatoo, as an indigenous member of their avifauna, and in the entire absence of the tiger or any other representative of the large *Felidae*. There are reasons for the hypothesis that the Philippine Islands are peaks, mountain ridges, and table-lands of a submerged continent, which in a very early geological period extended to Australia.

"Almost everywhere in the islands are the results of volcanic forces in evidence, although the number of active volcanoes is small. The volcanoes, active and extinct, are grouped in two lines, running, approximately, east and west. Earthquakes are not infrequent, and the buildings are designed to resist them. The more violent seismic disturbances appear to be confined to certain centers, amongst which the neighborhood of Manila, the capital of the islands, situate in Luzon, seems to be prominent.

"The Archipelago lies between 4.40 and 20 north latitude, and 116.40 and 126.30 east longitude. The seasons are divided into hot and cool, or wet and dry, and vary according to the aspect of the country. Regions exposed to the southwest monsoon have their wet season, whilst on the other side of the mountains people enjoy the dry season. The rainfall is not excessive for the Tropics, nor is it continuous, for occasional breaks lessen the discomforts of the wet season. The climate is very healthy for the Tropics, and diseases—*e.g.*, yellow fever—are unknown.

"The bulk of the natives are of a race akin to the Malays, though pure Malays are only settled on the south coast of Mindanao and the neighboring islands, where at times they give a little trouble to the authorities. In the interior of Luzon and some of the other islands the remnants of a race of natives of undoubtedly Papuan origin are found, still as untamed, and given to roving through the forests, as the Spaniards found them over three hundred years ago. They, like their Australian kinsmen, fly from civilization and succumb when forced into contact with it."

Mr. Karuth, it is interesting to note, gives, besides this technical and scientific information, much more that relates to the characteristics of the native populations and the influence for good which the much-abused Spanish religious orders have been in the Archipelago. This

matter, though out of place in a scientific reference, may be brought under notice in order that when the subject again comes up for discussion one may know where to look for impartial and authoritative testimony on the subject. The chief authority upon whom Mr. Karuth relies in corroboration of his own deductions is Mr. Palgrave, for many years British Consul in the Philippines ; and it may be stated, briefly, that this witness, although presumably a Protestant, speaks in terms of unqualified and unstinted praise of the Spanish priests in the Philippines and the admirable character of the civilization which they have been the means of spreading there.

THE CARE OF CHILDREN'S FEET.

We do not usually bestow the attention we ought on the feet of children. The fashion of keeping them confined in the one pair of boots for perhaps months at a time is almost universal. This custom is too much allied to Chinese ideas for our enlightened hemisphere and present-day knowledge. If children could be brought up barefooted in the fields or on the seashore, it would be far more conducive to health and comfort than the system of cramping the feet up in clumsy, unyielding shoes. The "Hospital" has done well in drawing attention to this subject :

" It matters very little to a child's future well-being that at some period of its childhood the sleeves of a jacket have been too short or the skirt of a frock too scant ; but the compression of feet in boots too tight, or, even worse, too short, may be a cause of torment in future years. The feet may indeed want some protection from cold and wet, but during a great part of the year children may safely and healthfully go barefooted. Some mothers, by no means of the poorer class, are convinced that the comfort and symmetry of the feet in maturer years are largely to be gained by giving them freedom during the time of growth."

Certainly freedom from corns, excrescences always traceable to tight shoes, is one of the minor blessings of life.

THE USES OF SALICYLIC ACID.

We are aware that many medical men acknowledge the benefits of salicylic acid, especially in the treatment of rheumatism and its cognate maladies, but we are also aware that an intense aversion to it is entertained by quasi-medical and State authorities. It is unlawful to use it in the making up of food in the State of Pennsylvania, and in many other States its sale is absolutely forbidden. In Europe, also, a good many enactments prevent its sale or adaptation to the preservation of food.

The action of salicylic, according to an article in the *Sanitarium*, is powerfully antiseptic. It retards the action of organized ferments like the yeast plant and putrefactive bacteria. It hinders and prevents fermentation, the souring of milk, and the putrefaction of milk. Its action upon unorganized ferments is even more powerful. It completely arrests the conversion of starch into grape-sugar by disease and pancreatic extracts. This action is directly opposed to the process of digestion, and, were there no other reason, the use of salicylic acid should be universally condemned for this one.

Still, the effect of extreme precaution of this kind may be to make the faculty lose sight of the benefits of salicylic in rheumatism and its obscure offshoots.

STILL ANOTHER MARVEL OF ELECTRICITY.

There seems to be an illimitable field for the scientific explorer in the domain of electricity. We hear of another discovery in that marvellous field, more astonishing than any yet made known. This is the process of improving our visual range by means of this universally adaptable agency. A Galician schoolmaster, named Szczepanik, is reported to have made an improvement in the telelectrope, by which seeing, or rather the transmission of visual pictures, by electricity is rendered possible. The transmitter consists of two strips of mirror, one horizontal and the other vertical, which oscillate in unison, so that the lines of the object under observation, continually changing in their reflection in the first, are broken up into points in the second reflector. These points are converted into electricity by their action on a cell charged with selenium, whose electrical tension changes with the color of the light to which it is exposed, the currents it gives off varying in energy with the color. The currents are again converted into color in the receiver, where a pivoted prism takes up from the electric light created by them the tint corresponding to the intensity of the transmitted current at each pulsation, a red ray being the equivalent of feeble energy and a blue of stronger. The rays are thrown by the prism on a mirror, and thence reflected on a screen, where the succession of the color vibrations is so rapid as to produce on the eye the effect of a continuous image.

This discovery points to further fields, in the inquiry into the hidden relations between color and the mysterious all-powerful fluid whose nature, familiar as we are with its effects, is as much a mystery to us as the canals in Mars.

Book Notices.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS KILEBY SMITH, Brevet Major-General United States Volunteers. By his son *Walter George Smith*. New York and London : G. P. Putnam's Sons. Octavo, 476 pp.

This is a military memoir, and such books are not ordinarily noticed in this REVIEW, but we have been tempted to make an exception in this case because of the unusual interest attaching to the volume, and because we have at hand a criticism from an eminent and eloquent priest, himself once a soldier, an author of great ability, which he permits us to print, although it was written in a private letter.

We refer to the Rev. Father Fidelis, C.P., who in the world was James Kent Stone. Writing from the Monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Rome, he says :

" Apart from the personal sympathy which I would naturally feel, I consider the letters by far the most graphic that I have ever read from the camp, as well as of high literary worth as giving a fascinating portraiture, a manifestation of character all the more attractive because given so unreservedly, to those whom he loved, without the slightest thought of taking the public into his confidence. And it is a lovable character, so frank, impetuous, fearless, affectionate. This is no pale portrait, no dry narration of facts ; there is light and shade everywhere. Even his failings are interesting ; they are not ugly ones, and they are manifested so artlessly, a careless or a cynical reader might think him vain and proud. But the vanity, what there was of it, was of a very harmless kind, a boyish, unaffected, undisguised delight in fine things, horses, servants, equipments, and all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war. And so far from being proud, his humility, to an appreciating critic, is almost touching. And it was a humility which grew deeper with years. He desired fame, it is true ; he wished to be appreciated by his fellow-citizens ; he felt keenly what seemed to be injustice ; but he placed no high estimate on himself ; and when justice was delayed he complained not, but resigned himself with a gentleness the more beautiful because in contrast with his naturally ardent temperament. Towards the end of his military career all traces of chafing and restlessness seem to vanish, and are replaced by a certain serenity of patience which is very winning. . . . What a pleasure it must have been to serve under him ! No wonder his men loved him, though he did swear at them now and then !

" I was speaking of the quietness and resignation which grew more apparent towards the end of his course, *e.g.*, in the beautiful letters

from Mobile. How much he must have suffered! One cannot help thinking of the fiery young poet, who, when he had fallen upon the thorns of life, poured out his soul in the passionate address to the 'Wild West Wind':

" 'A heavy weight of hours has chained and bowed
One too like thee—tameless, and swift, and proud.'

"Proud, in the hateful sense of the word, he certainly was not, as I have already remarked. And a very convincing proof of this is found in the fact that he was utterly void of envy. One of his shining qualities was generosity of spirit, a quick and glad appreciation of excellence in others, which is wholly incompatible with selfish egotism. He was a marvellous judge of character; he detected incompetence infallibly; but how rarely does he stop to puncture it, and never does he linger over its dissection. No, he loved best to praise, and was happiest when he could vindicate a comrade or a friend. Notice in particular his defence of Sherman and of Grant, especially the former, to which he returns again and again in the letters to his mother. For it must be borne in mind that these great men had not then come to the forefront, and were assailed by many calumnies. His estimate of these two leaders of destiny is surely the best and most accurate ever made at that early date, before the scroll of fateful events had been unrolled; and when read in the light of their subsequent careers, it is simply wonderful. After all these years, when the tumult has died away, and the actors in those stirring scenes have followed one another into the silence of the past, we are impressed with a certain admiration at reading these graphic delineations and well-delivered judgments, in which we feel that not a word needs changing. The writer has anticipated the verdict of history.

"Graphic is a term which may be well applied to his style in general. Although he had not enjoyed the advantage of regular academic training, he had been an eager student in the school of great minds, and was at home in the splendid domain of English literature, the best and richest which the world has ever known; and his modes of thought and expression had been formed, perhaps unconsciously, after the model of England's noblest authors. It is a style clear and strong, nervous and yet fluent—a style plastic enough for the moulding of the most diverse forms of thought, and ready to answer any demand of his impetuous spirit—sometimes pensive, sometimes chatty, again rushing like a torrent or sweeping like the stately flow of the 'exultant and abounding' river he loves so well to describe. Even in the haste and heat of the battlefield itself there is no obscurity, no bungling; we recognize always the same fine, firm hand. The letters written during the Vicksburg campaign are particularly vivid. The running of the batteries, for instance, is a lurid picture which lingers in the memory. We must remember, of course, that these reflections and descriptions of his are

improvisations, poured out for those he loved, without thought of manner. Had he written at leisure, and for the great public, he would doubtless have pruned and polished in those comparatively rare cases where revision might seem necessary. Had he made profession of letters rather than of arms, we may be sure that he would have left a permanent mark on the literature of his time. Certainly he had the instincts of the scholar. There is abundant incidental evidence in these pages that even amid the hurly-burly of campaigning he kept up his reading. And how he loved his books ! Instinctively we picture to ourselves the grizzled warrior, by the flickering camp-fire or in his wind-shaken tent, poring over the ‘treasured volume,’ which he had brought from home, dear to him as saddle or sword, or which he had pounced upon amid the spoils of war as a coveted prize. . . .

“A phase of his character which his severely impartial biographer has refrained from emphasizing was his deeply religious spirit. It is true, indeed, that this more serious aspect of his nature was never brought into prominence, never obtruded ; he made no parade of the faith that was in him ; and a superficial reader might here again entirely fail to understand him ; yet a sympathetic perusal of the letters leaves no doubt that the underlying principle and basis of his life was a deep and abiding faith in God and in revelation. Like those “giants in heart,” his Puritan ancestors, he ‘believed in God and the Bible.’ He trusted in the Lord with a certain childlike simplicity, and without hesitation. What at first sight might seem like a strain of fatalism resolves itself, on closer inspection, into an interior conviction that his hour had not yet come, combined with a readiness to go whenever that hour should arrive. And to faith he added hope. He looked forward to life to come, to an ‘endless end,’ to that blessed and eternal reunion which alone gives solution and interpretation to the mysteries of human life. His familiarity with the Scriptures, and notably with the writings of the Hebrew prophets, suggests the idea that he carried his Bible with him, and read it, too. Bits and phrases of Holy Writ which were evidently ready at hand in his thoughts, aphorisms and similes which offered themselves unsought to his swift-moving pen, could hardly have been the dry recollection of the past, but seem to imply rather a fresher acquaintance, a more intimate and devotional knowledge of the sacred text.

“And this spirit of latent piety—which, though reserved, was none the less genuine, cropping out unnoticed here and there, like rock-embedded ore—was blended with an affectionateness of soul far more evident, and unstintedly revealed. He loved his comrades. But above all, he loved his mother, his wife, his sister (that ‘dear Sister Helen’) and his children. His earthly paradise was in the circle of his home. Rarely shall we find, in the literary remains of those men whom the world has known, an affection equal in its tenderness and constancy to that which is here displayed in the epistles to his mother. How careful he was to shield her from anxiety ! How punctual in writing, lest

she should have time to fret ! How quick to ward off any suspicion in her mind that he, her son, had been unfairly dealt with ! And how he yearns, with a boy's heart still, for her sweet, maternal caresses ! Taken as a whole, these letters are, more than anything else, a monument of filial devotion. It is scarcely so remarkable that he should have loved his wife and children as he did—many men have done that ; but it does, I think, challenge unwonted admiration when we find a man of action, in the fulness of mature years, who had formed ties of his own, and given hostages to fortune, still clinging to his mother's love with all the artlessness of childhood. For the rest, it is astonishing that in the rough-and-tumble of campaign life he could have written so faithfully to all. We wonder whether any other soldier ever wrote so many letters home.

" One of the things which most impresses a reader of the letters is the many-sidedness of his character and the versatility of his brilliant mind, and at the same time the ease with which his flexible style accommodated itself to every mood. There is a lulling, pensive smoothness in the letters from Mobile Bay which fairly casts a spell of quietude, and is in marvellous contrast with the rush of the breathless letters from the battlefield, and perhaps still more with the rollicking humor with which at times he bubbles over. Notice, for instance, the passage in which he anathematizes the flies at Corinth. It is worthy of Laurence Sterne at his best ; and it was written, nevertheless, not in the leisure of a comfortable study, but post-haste from the rough camp. Compare, again, the letters to his mother and to his children. In expressing the opinion that he is at his best in the former I did not mean to disparage the latter. They are always interesting, and full of information and excellent counsel. But the difference of *manner* is apparent. In his letters to his mother he is impetuous, ingenuous, artless ; whereas in addressing his children he is uniformly didactic and measured, and never loses sight of his purpose. The letters to his children are those of a sage, those to his mother are the outpourings of a youthful heart. In the former he writes like a man of sixty, in the latter like a brilliant boy of sixteen. In reality he was then somewhat over forty.

" Of his children, it seems to me that Fr. Maurice resembled him most in character and temperament. A marked contrast of course there was, but we think it was one of training rather than of natural gifts and bent. The discipline of an ascetic life, which he embraced just when his powers had reached their development, and in which he so heroically persevered, had taught him lessons of stern restraint. He never relaxed his hold upon himself, never let himself go. But if he had not thus used the curb, if he had given the free rein to his intellectual inclinations, we may imagine that the likeness would have been more striking. These observations will apply equally well to the similarity as well as the contrast between the styles, the literary mannerisms of father and son. Maurice's style was his father's style chastened almost to severity. Had he lived long enough to write much, he would have been stronger.

We have in mind a sermon, delivered in our church in Buenos Ayres, in which that beloved young preacher seemed more at his ease, more himself, than we have ever known him to be. We do not recall the occasion, but the substance of the discourse was a rapid and eloquent review of the triumphs of the Church. It struck us as a masterpiece, and we felt our heart beating quick with emotion and admiration. Whether the sermon was ever written out or not, we do not know. Naturally, the 'Study of Character' at the end of the present volume has for us an interest pathetic and intense. The concluding passages are a specimen of chaste and eloquent English which only a very cultivated hand could have penned.

"The biographer has done his work admirably well. If he has erred at all, it has been on the side of a too scrupulous impartiality. Had the same task been attempted by a disinterested hand, there would have been more of encomium, more attention to the hanging of the picture, more attempt to bring into a good light those noble and attractive features to which we have endeavored for a moment to hold our flickering candle."

NOTES ON ST. PAUL : CORINTHIANS, GALATIANS, ROMANS. By *Joseph Rickaby, S.J.*
London : Burns & Oates. New York : Benziger Brothers. Pp. vii., 455.

"Listening assiduously to the reading of Blessed Paul's Epistles, I exult with joy ; I am delighted with that spiritual trumpet ; I am warmed with affection listening to the words of a friend, whose person I almost think I see, and hear his words. But I do grieve and am annoyed to think that not all know this man, as they should."

In the day when St. John Chrysostom uttered these words there was good reason why the writings of St. Paul were not so thoroughly understood as they deserved to be ; for the great commentary by the golden-tongued orator of Constantinople was not as yet within the reach of students, nor had St. Thomas, Cornelius à Lapide, Estius, Drach, and the numerous other more recent interpreters, shed light on the many things hard to be understood contained within the Pauline Epistles. It is within the memory of our own generation when the Catholic who sought a fuller acquaintance with the mind of St. Paul had no safe introduction thereto unless he were familiar with the Greek and Latin languages, in which the great commentaries were written. More fortunate are we of to-day who, even with our English speech, have access to the exegetic treasures of Cornelius à Lapide and Piconio, to say nothing of the less extensive though in many ways helpful and suggestive notes of Kenrick and McEvilly, and the almost living portraiture of St. Paul found in the English translation of his life by the Abbé Fouard.

The present work is a welcome addition to this not too extensive apparatus of exegetical study. The spirit in which the author writes may be illustrated by the following passage : "I am afraid," he says, "I have not made St. Paul quite easy reading. Popular notes on the Apostle might go the way with popular notes on the great Greek histo-

rian Thucydides, whom he greatly resembles in abruptness of style. With the one author as with the other, one must face difficulties, and not be afraid of the original Greek. Still one need not be a Greek scholar to profit by these *Notes*. I have labored everywhere to elucidate what exactly the Apostle meant to say, and as he was inspired for all time, to bring out that portion of his inspiration which is addressed to our age" (VII.). The author's long familiarity with ethical and social questions gives him a special facility in thus drawing forth and applying what might be called the "timely thoughts" of St. Paul. One familiar with the moral philosophy in the Stonyhurst series of manuals of Catholic philosophy will not fail to observe in Father Rickaby's commentary that sound sense and directness of expression which characterizes this earlier work.

The author has wisely, and certainly to the convenience of the reader, taken for his text Bishop Challoner's 1752 edition of the Rheims Testament, though not unfrequently improving the translation by collation with the original Greek. Though following, therefore, through the English, the Latin Vulgate in the main, he does not hesitate to depart from the latter reading in view of reaching more closely the literal meaning of the text. An instance where this latitude—which, of course, is otherwise perfectly justifiable—serves its purpose is in the very difficult passage I. Cor., xv., 51: *I tell you a mystery: We shall all indeed rise again, but we shall not all be changed.* What is this mystery—"something awful and secret, and a thing not known to all," as St. Chrysostom calls it? The Latin and the Rheims versions—that while all rise again, not all shall have their bodies changed to incorruption, glory and power (vv. 42, 43)—express nothing unknown, least of all to the Corinthians. We may well ask what historical authority there is for this reading, so perplexing and unsatisfactory. It has the support of nearly all the Latin fathers and Latin versions from the time of Tertullian (third century), and of one Greek MS. of the sixth century. On the other hand, it is countenanced by no other Greek MS., no Greek Father, no other than Latin versions, and, in the time of St. Jerome, not by all of them.

There are two variant readings. One, the less common, runs thus: *We shall all sleep (die, v. 18), but we shall not all be changed.* This is the reading of the Sinaitic Greek MS. (fourth century), and of a few other MSS. and versions. It is open to all the difficulties against the Vulgate reading. The other is the reading of the Vatican MS. (fourth century) which is followed by the other Greek MSS. for the most part, and by almost all the Greek Fathers. The Vatican reading will translate: *We shall all—not sleep (die)—but we shall all be changed.* The question is: What does St. Paul mean by *changed*? In the next verse the meaning is clear: they who are *changed* are opposed to the *dead*, who *rise again incorruptible*: the *changed* then are the living, who *put on incorruption* without passing through death. Such, then, must be the meaning of *changed* in this verse also. Hence we gather

that there is no antithesis between *all* and *not all*: the same collection of persons is spoken of in both clauses. . . . The *all* are *all we* (good Christians, not a word said about the wicked) who are alive at the last day: *we shall not die but we shall be changed* to incorruption and immortality, and that "*in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye,*" etc. (v. 52). Then after showing the origin of the Vulgate reading from the Sinaitic MS., Fr. Rickaby concludes: "Of the meaning of St. Paul, after years of reflection, I feel confident that it is: "*None of us shall die, but we shall all be changed,*" the *us* and the *we* being the just who shall be found alive at the judgment-day. The doctrine of this exemption from death on the part of the just who shall be survivors at the last day the author shows to have been held by St. Augustine and by Tertullian (p. 133). "True," he continues, "*in Adam all die* (v. 22), that is, all are in the way of death; but in this last generation death shall be anticipated by the glorious *change*. St. Thomas says of them: 'Even though they die not, still there is in them the liability to death, but the penalty is taken away by God' (1, 2, q. 81 a 3 ad 3). St. Paul here uses the first person in what is called the *communicative sense*, not knowing when the coming of the Lord was to be. Here, and in I. Thess., iv., 15, 17, he associates himself with them who are to be alive at that coming; elsewhere (vi., 14; II. Cor., iv., 14), with them who are to be raised up, and consequently must have died before." The author has selected the four Epistles mentioned in the title above because of their natural relationship, and because they were probably written in that order by St. Paul himself. The reader of these luminous *Notes* will surely cherish the hope that Father Rickaby will continue to interpret the other Letters of the Apostle.

CHINESE PHILOSOPHY. By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company. 1898. Pp. 64. Price, 25 cents.

This brochure appeared originally as an article in the *Monist*, and in that form was presented to the Emperor of China, whose Foreign Office had it previously rendered into Chinese for the convenience of His Imperial Highness. The members of that office reported that "the article shows that the writer is a scholar well versed in Chinese literature, and has brought together matters which indicate that he fully understood the subject he has treated." Encomium surely this from high authority, and itself as high as the lofty or rather profound nature of the theme allows; for, granting that there is a distinctively Chinese philosophy, and not simply a few Chinese writers who speculated more or less vaguely on philosophical subjects, the task of discovering and describing what that philosophy is is, by reason of the uncertainty of the historical data, well nigh hopeless.

Dr. Carus finds, as near the beginnings of Chinese speculation as he can reach, a certain dualistic conception, the universe being regarded as the product of *Yang* and *Yin*. "*Yang* means 'bright'; *Yin*, 'dark.'

Yang is the principle of heaven; *Yin* is the principle of earth. *Yang* is the sun; *Yin* is the moon. *Yang* is, as we should say, positive; *Yin* is negative. *Yang* is, as the Chinese say, masculine and active; *Yin* is feminine and passive. The former is motion, the latter is rest" (p. 3).

These two "elementary forms" are symbolized in the Chinese classics by four doublets of unbroken and broken lines called the four *Siang* (figures), and by eight trigrams, to each of which a special name (such as sky, water, fire, etc.) and attribute and hieroglyph are attached. By a most perplexingly intricate system of permutations of these symbols all things are explained. Back, however, of the dualistic conception there was probably a monistic theory; for the *Yang* and the *Yin* are thought to have originated in a process of differentiation from the *T'ai Kih*, the "grand origin" *der Urgrund*, the source of existence. This latter conception was subsequently wrought out by *Cheu-tszi*, i.e., Cheu, the Sage, who lived 1017-1073 A.D., and his disciple, Chu Hi. Whether, however, the Monism espoused by these latter sages was original with them or was, as is most likely the case, a revival of an earlier similar conception, or perhaps a modification of a true primordial monotheism, we have no historical data by which to determine—no more than we have the means of verifying the view advocated by Dr. Carus that the basis of the characteristically Chinese reverence for parental authority and, consequently, of their whole ethical system—which is but an application of the idea of filial piety to all human relations—is the *Yang* and *Yin* dualism.

The author places his readers, however, on still less reliable, though better discernible ground, both of principle and fact, when he makes the following assertion: "The higher monistic ethics, which becomes possible only on an advanced plane in the evolution of mankind, unites both the governor and the governed in one person, and expects every one to be his own king, priest and instructor, replacing the external relation by an internal relation. This principle of a monistic ethics was first proclaimed in the history of European civilization by the reformers of the sixteenth century, who taught self-dependence and claimed the liberty of conscience. Liberty of conscience, self-reliance, the right of free inquiry and free thought abolish personal authority, not for the sake of anarchy, but to replace it by the superpersonal authority of justice, right and truth" (p. 37). It is to be hoped that the members of the *Tsung Li Yamen*, if they understood these sentiments, excepted them mentally from their expression when they declared that the author understood the subject he has treated.

There are a few more such obtrusions of apriorism. Aside from them the pamphlet is interesting, instructive and suggestive, especially the part which treats of the various theories of interpreting that most mysterious of the Chinese classics—the *Yih-King*. The brochure owes not a little of its attractiveness to the neatness of typography, especially as regards the Chinese characters.

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE Dogmaticæ et Moralis unacum præcipiis notionibus theologiæ canoniciæ, liturgicæ, pastoralis et mysticæ, ac philosophiæ Christianæ. Auctore P. J. Berthier, M.S., Ed. iv., aucta et emendata. La Salette in Gallia. New York : Benziger Brothers. Pp. 706. Price, \$2.50.

"Some books of close and continuous matter need an hour of quiet attention ; some of a less precise kind may be read in times caught flying ; and some may be taken up at any moment. A hard student once advised a friend to have 'five-minute books.' And many a book could be read through in a year by five minutes a day." This was Cardinal Manning's suggestion to the busy priest. Some such thought the author of the present work had in mind when forming his compendium of theology. There is no lack of works, he says, treating *in extenso* of the same subject, but there is often a lack of time to read them. And yet theological knowledge must never fade from the priest's mind. Hence it seemed to the author desirable that a book should be written containing a summary of such knowledge ; "so that any priest, however occupied with the duties of the sacred ministry, might be able to peruse it in a year, by reading two or three pages a day, and might often in a half hour recall to memory an entire treatise" (p. 9). It is plain that a compendium of this kind—one presenting an outline of all the departments of theology together with a very brief introductory sketch of philosophy—can be a "five-minute book" only to those already quite familiar with its subject-matter. The author expressly disclaims it as a substitute for the study of larger works, but thinks that as a summary for review for the use of the young cleric who has just completed a course of theology, and for the busy priest in the ministry, especially in missionary fields, his work will answer a want. That it does so answer is in a measure proven by the fact that prior to the present fourth edition 18,000 copies of the work had been sold, and over 9000 copies of a French version of the Compendium had been called for up to 1897.

Père Berthier brings to his task a long experience both as a teacher of seminarians, as a voluminous writer, and as a missionary priest. He is, besides, the Superior of the missionaries of La Salette, who, besides their foreign missions, have in charge a work which could only be begotten and fostered by the faith and charity of Catholic France—the education, namely, of young men for the priesthood who through poverty and military proscription are unable until late in youth to give themselves to systematic study and yet cherish a desire to devote themselves to missionary duties. This meritorious work is described in the concluding pages of the present volume, and the reader is informed that all the income resulting from the sale of this and the author's other books is devoted to the work of Foreign Missions.

THE LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR. A Historical Study. By Philip Burton, a Priest of the Congregation of the Mission, and a Pilgrim to Hippo. Third edition, 8vo. Pp. 474. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1897.

Few men in history present to the biographer a more inviting personality than St. Augustine. As sinner, penitent, priest, bishop, confessor,

and doctor, he has attracted the attention of the world for centuries. His life has been written at different times by various authors, and at first it might seem strange that a new life of him should appear at this late day. But the author gives a good reason for his work, and the fact that three editions of his book have been called for in ten years is sufficient proof that his reason is thought sufficient.

He tells us that he resided in Algiers for two years in search of health. During that time he visited Hippo, Tagasta, Colama, Cirta, and some of the other scenes of the life and labors of St. Augustine. He became interested in the saint and in the history of the African church, and began to search for more information in regard to them. He had access to a very valuable library, well stocked with all that could be desired on the subject, and he made good use of it. The result is the present work. The author cannot be accused of presumption, for he offered his materials to other workmen, whom he thought could build better with them, but they refused to embrace the opportunity. Then he used them himself, and most successfully.

The object of the author is to present to English readers, St. Augustine with all his surroundings ; to picture him as he really was, "with the mountains and plains, cities and towns, roads and rivers amidst which he lived and journeyed ; the events in which he took active part ; his most intimate friends and his most noted adversaries ; his household, his home life, and his daily labors ; his flock and his intimate relations with them ; his relations with his episcopal brethren, and his work in the synods ; his relations with the Popes ; in fine, with all those circumstances and surroundings that reveal to us the whole man as he appeared to his contemporaries."

The plan is certainly comprehensive enough, but it cannot in a book of this size be exhaustive.

Father Burton has taken his facts, whenever possible, from original sources. He has relied only on authors of unquestionable authority, and the result of his labors is placed before the public in a very reliable and pleasing biography which will well repay the reader.

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. In four imperial octavo volumes of about 900 pages each, with maps and illustrations. Vol. I, by subscription, \$6.00. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dictionaries must be constantly renewed in order to be complete. While this is true of almost all dictionaries, it is particularly true, in recent times, of Bible dictionaries. This assertion does not suppose changes in the body of Divine revelation, but developments of our knowledge in regard to it. So much attention has been given to biblical study in the last half century that a very general interest in the great book has been excited. Every branch of the subject has been assiduously cultivated, and the fund of knowledge on the subject has been very much increased. Hence we have had works from

many sources on every phase of the question, and, while differences of opinion still prevail, and always will continue, it must be confessed that the renewed vigor with which scholars have approached the subject and pursued it has called the attention of the world again to that most sublime book, which it seemed for a time to have forgotten.

The appearance of this new biblical encyclopædia vindicates this assertion. Experienced and reliable publishers regulate their business carefully, and never undertake to bring an extensive and costly work from the press until they are sure that there is a demand for it. Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh, and Messrs. Scribner, of New York, are publishers that rank with the highest, and therefore their action in publishing this important work at this time is a criterion by which we can judge of the interest in biblical studies in English-speaking countries.

It is not our purpose to review the book—many pages of this magazine would be required for that purpose—but to call attention to it.

"It is an encyclopædic dictionary of the Old and New Testaments, together with the Old Testament Apocrypha, according to the authorized and revised English versions. It is believed that in no other similar work can the student or reader obtain such scope and fulness, such absolute accuracy and authoritativeness of interpretation, and such convenience and accessibility. The comprehensive aim of this dictionary is to define all the words in the Bible not self-explanatory." This quotation is taken from the prospectus. The literary work, the press-work, the illustrations and the maps have all been done in the best manner; but we must warn the readers of the QUARTERLY that as far as we know, or have been able to learn, not one Catholic author has been a member of the large staff that prepared the work for press. It is only fair to state this fact, in order that every one may accept the book for just what it is.

PHILOSOPHIA LACENSIS; INSTITUTIONES PSYCHOLOGICÆ. *Tilm. Pesch, S.J.* Vol. iii., pp. xviii.-551. Herder: St. Louis, Mo. 1898. Price, \$2.00.

Since the above notice of the second volume of Fr. Pesch's Psychology has been in type, the third and concluding volume has fallen from the press. The subject-matter here explained forms the *altera pars* of the whole work—the *psychologia anthropologica*. It naturally divides itself into four main divisions or "books." The first of these books, constructed on the unmistakably Aristotelian plan, opens with a treatise on the object-matter of the human intellect, and leads the student inwards into the nature of intellectual action, and thence to the ever-recurring question as to the origin of ideas. Some two hundred pages offer sufficient space for a fair treatment of the purely intellectual functions, especially in view of the fact that the introductory material on psychic faculties in general and sentient in particular had been elaborated in the preceding volumes of the course.

The human will is studied in like method in the second book. The subject of liberty here gives the author occasion for some nice philo-

sophical dissection, both as regards the much abused term itself and the manifold phases of the opposing systems of determinism.

The third book, on the mutual relations of soul and body in their present union in the individual person, deals largely with the appetitive tendencies, the passions and emotions. An important feature of this portion of the work—a feature not explicitly contained in the Manuals familiar to the Catholic student—is the section treating of education. The *psychological precepts* bearing on this large subject are, it is true, very briefly summarized; but they embody the soundly philosophical principles involved in the training of the mind.

The fourth and closing book is devoted to the demonstration of the soul's immortality and its powers and mode of action after separation from the body.

An appendix on psychological materialism and another on the final end of man bring the work to its close. An alphabetical index, which, by the way, might well have been fuller, unlocks the wealth of doctrine contained within the fourteen hundred and more pages comprised within the three volumes of this elaborate course of neo-scholastic psychology.

Students of philosophy in this generation are fortunate in having such a thorough, learned, methodical, perspicuous and, as regards the material make-up of the work, attractive aid to their studies as is here presented. Would that we had something of the kind in English.

ANGELS OF THE BATTLEFIELD. A history of the labors of the Catholic Sisterhoods in the late Civil War. By *George Barton*. Large 8vo, pp. 302. Phila.: The Catholic Art Publishing Co.

A few days ago a young gentleman who had been wounded in Cuba, and who returned with shattered constitution to his home in the North, said, when speaking of his experience: "I wish to state that I am a Protestant, but the Catholic sisters who are nursing the sick and wounded are angels." It is not likely that this man had ever read Mr. Barton's book, or heard its title; and yet, speaking from the heart, he spoke of the Sister-Nurses as angels of the battlefield.

This book is more than usually interesting now when new angels are making a record for themselves no less admirable than that which their predecessors made more than thirty years ago. And who can say to what extent these new heroines have been influenced and encouraged by the lives of those who have gone before! Although their deeds have not been told on printed page until now, we may be sure that they have been faithfully preserved amongst the traditions of the communities of which they were members. Mr. Barton's book is a valuable contribution to the history of the Civil War—we cannot say now the Late War. He has very industriously and faithfully gathered together what information he could find in regard to the Sister-Nurses in the war. It was a difficult task. Sisters do not work for earthly glory or reward. They do not seek the admiration or praise of the world. On the contrary, they labor for the glory of God and the good of their neighbor,

and they look to eternity for their reward. Notoriety is repugnant to them, and inconsistent with their mode of life. Hence they would rather conceal their good deeds than make them known, and they consent to speak of them only through a sense of duty, and in obedience to the command of a superior. When we remember, also, the number of years that have elapsed since the close of the war, we will better appreciate the labors of the author and admire his success. He has really done remarkably well. His history is about as complete as it could be made under the circumstances, and the connecting links, giving sketches of persons, places and events, are skillfully supplied. Numerous illustrations accompany the text, which is well printed on excellent paper. If the present war is not soon ended, we hope that the second volume of "Angels of the Battlefield" will be promptly written.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIÆ DOGMATICÆ : TRACTATUS DE DEO CREATORE ET DE DEO CONSUMMATORE. Auctore *Petro Einig, D.D.* Treveris ex officina ad S. Paulinum, 1898. Pp. vii., 171, ii., 68. Price, 3 marks.

If there be grades of importance in the various treatises that go to constitute a course of theology, the one dealing with the subjects assigned to the present work certainly deserves the first place. The tract "de Deo Creante" has to unfold the relations of God—as the efficient, archetypal and final cause—to the universe, as well as the fundamental relations of the hierarchies of creatures to their Creator.

The matters here treated are, besides, as difficult as they are important. Leaving aside the abstruse controverted questions concerning the divine concursus—God's co-operation with free will—and the elevation of the human and angelic natures to the supernatural order and destiny, the mere mention of the Mosaic cosmogony and the origin and nature of man suggests vast areas of speculation which can be hopefully described only by one who is familiar with its theological, exegetical, archæological, historical and philosophical features, and with the many-sided aspects it presents to well-nigh all the physical sciences. To treat these questions alone with anything like adequacy would require many such volumes as the one at hand. Dr. Einig makes no such pretense. He aims simply to present a systematized body of theological doctrine with just that amount of adjunct information from the other departments of knowledge into which his matter falls as is required to bring out the complete harmony between the truths of revelation and nature. The author is Professor of Dogmatics in the diocesan seminary of Treves, and in this capacity has in mind the needs of his own students. At the same time his treatise adapts itself readily for use in any theological course. His method is perfectly clear, his language perspicuous, the literary apparatus sufficiently full, and the mechanical features of the book such as to commend it for class purposes. Besides the tract on Creation, the present volume contains a brief treatise on the Final Consummation of Man and the Universe. Two antecedent volumes had treated of Grace and the Divine Nature. Two more, promised for the near future, are needed to complete the course.

DIE HEILIGEN SACRAMENTE DER KATHOLISCHEN KIRCHE. Fuer die Seelsorger dogmatisch dargestellt von Dr. Nikolaus Gehr, Subregens an derzbi schoeflichen Priesterseminar zu St. Peter. Erster Band. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, \$2.75 net.

This is one of the concluding volumes of Herder's extremely valuable Theological Library, which consists of a series of ably-written treatises upon every department of theological science by the most distinguished names in contemporary German Catholic circles. It was for this collection that Cardinal Hergenroether wrote his great "Church History," in three volumes; Scheeben, likewise in three volumes, his "Dogmatik," and Schwane, in four volumes, his "History of Dogma," to mention only the best known of a series in which every contribution approaches as near to perfection as the present state of divinity permits.

The task of expounding the Catholic doctrine concerning the Sacraments has been committed to the care of Dr. Gehr, whose excellent work on the "Holy Sacrifice of the Mass," also comprised in this extensive library, demonstrated his ability to treat the important subject with a masterly hand. His first volume lies before us, and we have no hesitation in pronouncing it far and away the most satisfactory treatise on the Sacraments that we have ever read. The author, in this volume, exhausts the subjects of the Sacraments in general, Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist. The remaining Sacraments will be treated in a subsequent volume.

It is humiliating in the extreme to compare the great works made accessible to the learned Catholic laity of Germany, by which they are enabled to acquaint themselves thoroughly with every point of the Catholic teaching, and to defend their faith like skilled theologians, with the meagre elements of religious truth which are deemed sufficient for the faithful who are familiar only with the English language. When will it be possible for us to possess such a theological library as this of Herder's? How is it that our educated laity are content to pass through life with no further knowledge of their religion than they acquired in early youth from their catechism, or that they pick up in a desultory manner from an occasional sermon?

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY. A Treatise on the Human Soul. By Rev. John T. Driscoll, S.T.L. 12mo., pp. 269. Albany: James B. Lyon.

"This treatise is an attempt to set forth the main lines of Christian philosophy as enunciated in the catechism and as systematized by the schoolmen, especially St. Thomas."

The study of philosophy, and especially of psychology, is becoming more common every day. It is no longer confined to universities, but is found in all high schools and normal schools. It is considered an important part of the curriculum of training-schools for teachers, and the graduates of these schools are expected to apply its principles to their work in the school-room. Hence the number of text-books has been increased very rapidly. Most of them, if not all, follow German rationalistic

leaders. In many instances the physical sciences and psychology have been so confounded that the truth has often been clouded, and sometimes destroyed.

To correct this evil the present work has been written. The author takes the catechism and St. Thomas for his guides, and therefore he cannot go astray. He believes with the Catholic Church that the teachings of the Angelic Doctor are as true now as they were when he first penned them ; but he applies those teachings to the work of modern philosophical writers, especially in our own country, and thus helps us to clear away the clouds which these modern productions have cast upon the ancient truth.

The work is well done. Nor was it an easy work. It is not a mere outline, but a complete treatise, though not an exhaustive one. The arrangement is most helpful, the marginal summaries of the text being very acceptable.

Footnotes abound, and references to authorities are clearly given in every instance.

Father Driscoll's book is timely, and should receive a warm welcome.

MEDITATIONS ON THE SACRED PASSION OF OUR LORD. By *Cardinal Wiseman*.
London : Burns & Oates ; New York : Benziger Bros. 1898. Price, \$1.10.

The Passion should be, as Cardinal Wiseman remarks in the present work, to the Christian what the Law was to the Jew : "his meditation, sitting down in his house, or going on his journey, coming and going out." It should be ever "before and between his eyes, not merely by being mechanically imprinted on his forehead by his hand, but by being the scope and aim of all his actions, the tendency of his desires, the object of his love." (p. 2.)

The Passion, therefore, though peculiarly adapted to meditation during the Lenten season, is a subject which is never long absent at any season from the thoughts of the fervent Christian, nor, least of all, even when the Easter alleluias are echoing in his ears. Whatever, therefore, will help to a better knowledge, a deeper and more practical realization of the meaning and the lessons of the Crucifix cannot be unwelcome. A genuine help of this kind is this collection of Cardinal Wiseman's meditations. They form but part of a larger series of "Meditations" which the eminent prelate wrote for the use of the students whilst Rector of the English College in Rome. This special adaptation, however, in no way limits their matter or bearing. Based, as they are, on unusual principles, they show their patent application to every walk and phase of life. For the rest, we cannot more fittingly commend them to the clergy and laity than by adopting the encomium paid them by Cardinal Vaughan in his graceful preface to the present booklet : "The characteristic of these meditations, as indeed of most of Cardinal Wiseman's writings, is that you will nearly always find in them a 'hidden gem.' The beauty and richness of his mind seemed to illustrate and justify every topic he treated by suddenly striking some vein of thought or some point of feeling which, if not new, is at least presented in a new light or reference."

LIGHT AND PEACE. Instructions for Devout Souls, to dispel their doubts and allay their fears. By *R. P. Quadrifragi, Barnabite.* Translated from the French, with an Introduction by the Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, D.D., Archbishop of Philadelphia. 12mo., pp. 193. Price, 50 cents. St. Louis: B. Herder.

These instructions were written in 1795 by Rev. Father Quadrifragi, the Barnabite, and they contain a summary of spiritual guidance for earnest Christians in the ordinary duties of life in the world. The author tells his readers that he is not setting before them his own wisdom, but the wisdom of the great spiritual writers and theologians of the Catholic Church, Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas, Saint Philip de Neri, and especially Saint Francis de Sales. As the translator very well says: "The maxims of Father Quadrifragi are specially adapted to the American character. Unlike many foreign religious works, whose spirituality often fails to touch the Anglo-Saxon temperament, this author's teaching is decidedly practical and practicable, and appeals in every way to the common sense, and fits in with the busy, matter-of-fact life of the average American Catholic."

Everything is so clearly and concisely put that the author seems to speak directly to us, and to answer our questions before we have asked them. That he succeeds is shown most of all by the ever-increasing number of his readers. The work has passed through uncounted editions in the original Italian, and through a large number of editions in the French and the German translations. An English translation published many years ago has been out of print for a long time. The present translation has been made from the twentieth French edition, and collated with the thirty-second edition of the original Italian published at Naples in 1818. The introduction by Archbishop Ryan is a strong recommendation of the work, and it is written in the Archbishop's happiest style.

THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM. By *T. N. Allies, R.C.S.G.* Vol. iv. As seen in Church and State. 12mo, pp. 452. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

All who have read this work in former editions will rejoice in the appearance of the successive volumes of the latest edition, because they know the great value of the book and the incalculable good that will be done by it in its more accessible form.

Since the appearance of the first edition, in 1865, it has steadily grown in public favor, so that there was a demand for a third edition in 1897, although the second had come from the press as late as 1894. When the first volume of the second edition appeared Cardinal Vaughan said of it: "It is one of the noblest historical works I have ever read. . . . We have nothing like it in the English language. It meets a need which becomes greater daily with the increase of mental culture and the spread of education." Nor was this commendation singular. Every one who has read the book speaks of it in the same high terms.

The fourth volume treats of the Formation of Christendom as seen in Church and State. After speaking of the kingdom as prophesied

and as fulfilled, the author treats, successively, of the relation between the spiritual and civil powers from Adam to Christ and after Christ. He then shows the transmission of the spiritual authority from our Lord to Peter and the Apostles, as set forth in the New Testament and as witnessed in the history of the Church from A.D. 29 to A.D. 325. After showing the one episcopate resting upon the one sacrifice, he treats of the independence of the ante-Nicene Church as seen in her organic growth, in her mode of positive teaching, and in her mode of resisting error. He closes with an account of the Church's battle for independence against the Roman Empire. It is a most valuable addition to a very valuable work, and it cannot be spoken of too highly.

SERMONS AND MORAL DISCOURSES for all the Sundays of the year, for Holy Days and Feasts, and for Particular Devotions. Edited and in part written by *Rev. Francis X. McGowan, O.S.A.* 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 1275. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

Here is a very complete collection of Sermons for Sundays, Holy Days, Feasts, and Particular Occasions. Indeed, the preacher will find good matter for every occasion. The editor, and in part author of the sermons, Rev. F. X. McGowan, O. S. A., is well known as a pulpit orator in this country, and his reputation as an elegant and powerful speaker is a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of the work.

Father McGowan is very modest about his part of the work. He says: "We might have followed, as far as subject-matter and method are concerned, the paths of the old writers, and we therefore make no pretension to novelty. Our whole ambition has been to put in clear and plain language the thoughts of writers who have been distinguished as pulpit orators and as zealous exponents of our holy Faith."

As to the sources from which he has drawn, the author says: "We are much indebted to the *Prônes* of Billot, the sermons of Perrin and other French preachers for the matter of the Sunday sermons; and to the Latin discourses of La Selve, St. Thomas of Villanova, and other former writers, for many suggestions as regard the sermons for festivals and saints' days. We have studied usefulness rather than profuseness, and have endeavored to carry out a reference to the needs and requirements of our American life."

Even a glance at the pages of this book will show the reader that the work is unusually good from every point of view, and worthy of patronage.

A GENERAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.
By *A. E. Breen, D.D.* Rochester, N. Y.: The John P. Smith Printing House.

We extend a benevolent greeting to these first-fruits of St. Bernard's Theological Seminary, Rochester, one of the youngest and most promising seats of theological learning in this nation. Dr. Breen's large octavo volume of about six hundred pages is not a text-book in the ordinary meaning of the term. It is a series of lectures delivered by him as Professor of Sacred Scripture, covering the entire ground usually tra-

versed in a Scripture class. The lecturer presents the results of his extensive and varied reading in an interesting manner, which enables the hearer or reader to follow him without that sense of weariness that so often attaches to the study of Scriptural science. Being himself thoroughly at home in his department, and full of enthusiasm, he everywhere awakens interest in those who listen to him. He has, moreover, the advantage of youth, with many useful years, we trust, in store, during which he may continue his important labors, revising and rewriting his work, condensing and developing in places, as maturer experience will suggest. We also congratulate the publisher upon the typographical beauty and accuracy of the book.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE LIFE OF FATHER CHARLES PERRAUD. By *Augustine Largent*, Priest of the Oratory. Translated from the French, with Introduction by Cardinal Gibbons. 8vo, pp. 97. New York: Cathedral Library Association.
- PROPER OFFICES OF THE SAINTS GRANTED to the Barefooted Carmelites. Translated from the Latin. 12mo, pp. 424. Boston: Cashman & Co.
- ANCIENT INDIA; Its Language and Religions. By *Professor H. Oldenberg*. 8vo, pp. 110. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.
- ENGLISH SECULARISM; A Confession of Belief. By *George Jacob Holyoake*. 8vo, pp. 150. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.
- SPIRITUAL EXERCISES FOR A TEN DAYS' RETREAT, for the Use of Religious Congregations. By *Very Rev. Rudolph v. Smetana, C.S.S.R.* 12mo, pp. 280. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE REACTION FROM SCIENCE. By the author of "Disunion and Reunion" (W. J. Madden). 12mo, pp. 229.
- CATHOLIC PRACTICE, at Church and at Home. The Parishioner's Little Rule Book. By *Rev. Alexander L. A. Klauder*. 16mo, pp. 211. Angel Guardian Press, Boston.
- LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN according to the Roman Breviary. 32mo, pp. 127. Baltimore: John Murphy.
- PRAY FOR US. Little Chaplets for the Saints. By *A. Sewell*. 32mo, pp. 88. London: Burns & Oates.
- EXTRACTUM ex Rituali Romano, continentibus; Communio Infirmorum, Sacramentum Extremæ Unctionis, Ritus Benedictionis Apostolicæ, Ordo Commendationis animæ in expiratione. 32mo, pp. 58. New York: Pustet & Co.
- BRUNO AND LUCY: OR, THE WAYS OF THE LORD ARE WONDERFUL. From the German of William Herchinbach. Revised by the *Rev. W. J. Eyre, S.J.* London: Burns & Oates.
- RACHEL'S FATE AND OTHER TALES. By *William Seton*. New York: P. O'Shea.
- JEWELS OF PRAYER AND MEDITATION. By *Percy Fitzgerald*. New York: Benziger Bros.
- CONFESION AND COMMUNION for Religious and for those who Communicate frequently. By the author of "First Communion." 16mo, pp. 196. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

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